

Galg. J. C.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Catiline's Conspiracy,
AND THE
JUGURTHINE WAR.
By C. C. SALLUST.
With a NEW TRANSLATION of
CICERO's FOUR ORATIONS against
CATILINE.

To which is prefixed,
The LIFE of SALLUST.

By WILLIAM ROSE, A. M.

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THE
HISTORY

OF
THE
CITY OF LONDON

FROM
THE
EARLIEST PERIODS

TO THE PRESENT



P R E F A C E.

AS the usefulness of translations of the classics is universally allowed, so the difficulty of succeeding in them will be readily granted by all who have ever attempted it. To translate a modern author of genius, into a modern language, is no easy task, though so many of the modern languages resemble one another; it must therefore be extremely difficult to translate any of the classical writers of Greece or Rome, into such a language as ours, the idioms and structure of which are so very different from those of the Greek and Latin languages. But this is not all; the translator must not only find proper phrases to convey the images of his author, but he must animate his images with the same spirit: for it is with translating as with painting; if the air and spirit of the original are wanting, there can be no true resemblance.

The translator of Sallust was very sensible of the difficulty of his undertaking, and hopes the candid reader will make fair and equitable allowances for the defects that attend the execution of it. His great aim has been to preserve a due medium between a verbal, and too bold and free a translation ; having made it his first care to preserve the sentiment of his author, and his next, to adhere to his words, as far as he was able to express them in an easy and natural manner. By this method he flatters himself that he has, in some measure, answered both the ends he proposed in translating Sallust ; the first of which was, to furnish such young gentlemen as have made a tolerable progress in the Latin tongue, with such a version of him, as, at the same time that it had all the advantages of a literal translation, should be free from that flatness which is inseparable from such, and read with tolerable ease and fluency. His other view was to present such as are not

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capable of reading Sallust himself, and yet are desirous of being acquainted with the memorable transactions of which he gives an account, with such a translation of him, as should have somewhat of the air of an original.

But here the reader will be apt to say; what occasion for a new translation of Sallust? Are there not several very good ones already? The translator would be far from derogating from the merit of any former translations of his author; and in answer to this question, all he has to say is, that if his has but equal merit with any of them, as he humbly apprehends it has, there will still be this additional recommendation of it, that besides the neatness of the impression, it may be purchased at an easier price than the others: a circumstance which, he imagines, will plead strongly in his favour with the generality of readers.

He has nothing farther to add, but that if this his first essay meets with a fa-

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vourable reception from the public, it will be a powerful inducement to him to continue his labours in the same way ; by which means it will be in the power of almost every parent to furnish his child with useful translations of the school classics in a neat and elegant form, and at a very easy rate.

A S H O R T
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
L I F E o f S A L L U S T.

CAIUS CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS was born at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, in the year of Rome six hundred and sixty eight, during the third consulship of L. Cornelius Cinna, and the first of Cn. Papirius Carbo. He was descended from a Plebeian family, as appears from his having been one of the tribunes of the people, and from the many invectives against the nobility, that are scattered up and down his works. In his early years his inclination led him to the study of learning, to which he applied with the greatest diligence, and made uncommon progress under the care of Attius Prætextatus, called Philologus, one of the ablest grammarians of the age.

It appears, that he had turned his thoughts, in his younger days, to the writing of history, for which he had, unquestionably, great talents; but, as he himself intimates in his preface to the history of Catiline's conspiracy, he was diverted from this pursuit by the workings of ambition. It were to be wished, for the sake of his character, that he had kept close to his original design, and not meddled with the management of public affairs; his reputation would then have been free from many of those stains with which it is now blemished. The Roman manners, in the age wherein he lived, were extremely licentious and depraved; corruption prevailed in the state, and the most barefaced venality in all the courts of justice; the worthiest patriots, the best friends to liberty, suffered, while the basest parricides were exalted; the Patricians and Plebeians were engaged in the most violent struggles, and as the one or the other happened to prevail, they oppressed the opposite party with wanton rage and fury: so that, considering the degeneracy of the times, it is the less to be wondered at, if he caught the infection, and was borne away by such a torrent of corruption.

If we may credit the ancient declaimer, who, under the name of Cicero, has inveighed against
Sallust,

Sallust, his youth was stained with the foulest acts of lewdness ; and indeed the gross enormities of his more advanced years render it highly probable. We are told by M. Varro, an author worthy of credit, that he was caught in adultery with Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, and severely whipped by her husband Milo, who likewise obliged him to pay a considerable sum of money. There are other charges against him, believed chiefly upon the authority of the above-mentioned declaimer, but we shall not detain the reader by enumerating them.

From his being quæstor, which was probably in the year of Rome six hundred and ninety three, he bore no public office till the year seven hundred and one, at which time he was made tribune of the people. In this office, he improved the opportunity that was put into his hands of revenging himself upon Milo, the murderer of Clodius, for the treatment he had received from him on the score of Fausta. Having gained over to his interest two other tribunes, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and Munacius Plancus Bursa, he employed all the arts of party and faction to keep up the ill humour of the populace against him ; haranguing continually, and terrifying the city with forged stories of magazines of arms prepared by Milo, for massacring his enemies,

mies, and burning the city. Nor was he less active, in raising a clamour against Cicero, whom he threatned with trials and prosecutions, in order to deter him from pleading Milo's cause; giving out upon all occasions, that Clodius was indeed killed by Milo, but by the advice and contrivance of a greater man.

In the year seven hundred and three, he was expelled the Senate by the then censors Appius Claudius and Calpurnius Piso, on account of his lewd and profligate life. The year following, however, he was restored to the dignity of senator by Julius Cæsar, and likewise made quæstor; in which office he is charged with great corruption, with making sale of every thing he could, and using it only as an occasion of plunder. During Cæsar's second dictatorship he was made Prætor, an honour which had like to have proved fatal to him. For endeavouring in vain to quiet a sedition, which arose among Cæsar's troops in Campania, that were designed for Africa, he went to Rome to give Cæsar an account of it; and was pursued by a considerable body of them, who would certainly have put him to death, if they had overtaken him. Cæsar, upon his arrival, calmed the commotion, and passed over into

into Africa, with part of his army, taking Sallust along with him; whom, a few days after his landing, he sent with part of his fleet, into the island of Cercina, at that time in the possession of the enemy, being informed, that there was a great quantity of corn in it, of which he stood very much in need. C. Decimus the quæstor, who had been left with a strong party to secure the corn, upon the Prætor's approach, embarked in a small vessel, and made his escape. Sallust met with a favourable reception from the natives, found great plenty of corn, loaded his ships, and returned to Cæsar. What other services he performed during the course of the war, does not appear; but it is certain he was closely attached to Cæsar's party and interest.

When the war in Africa was ended, Cæsar bestowed upon him the government of Numidia, which he plundered in the most inhuman manner. No one indeed could be more rapacious than he was, during the course of his administration in this province; a reproach which falls the more heavily upon him, as he had inveighed so keenly against corruption, and corrupt magistrates, and bestowed so high encomiums on virtue and equitable government. With the spoils of his infamous magistracy
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he purchased a country-house at Tivoli, and one of the noblest dwellings in Rome on the quirinal mount, with beautiful gardens, which to this day are called the gardens of Sallust. In what manner he spent the remainder of his days, we have no account ; he died in the year of Rome seven hundred and nineteen.

Though Sallust's character as a man has been held in just abhorrence and detestation ; as an historian he has been ever highly admired by the best judges. His talents for history were certainly very great, and where he pursues the thread of it, he does it in the most perspicuous, agreeable, and instructive manner : his stile is clear and nervous ; his narration natural ; his descriptions beautiful ; his reflections curious and solid ; his speeches animated and persuasive ; and his characters just and striking. After all he is not without his faults, and those very great ones. He is very apt to start from his subject, in order to display his own abilities, and to run into digressions, which, however ingenious and entertaining, have an air of affectation and self-sufficiency. His vanity appears clearly in his prefaces, which are full of compliments

to himself, and, instead of being pertinent introductions to his history, seem rather designed to represent the importance of his own character and studies. They abound indeed with virtuous sentiments, and bitter invectives against corrupt governors, tho' these by the way, seem rather to proceed from private pique and resentment, than from a genuine abhorrence of corruption, or a truly patriot zeal for the public good.

His history of the war with Jugurtha is a masterly performance ; but his partiality to Cæsar, and his treatment of Cicero, are unpardonable faults in the account of Catiline's conspiracy. When he draws the characters of Cato and Cæsar, he considers them only as two great subjects in the service of a free state, and acquiring fame by different ways and qualities ; without once mentioning the most material difference between them, that the one laboured earnestly, through the whole course of his life, to preserve and reform the state, whilst the other did all in his power to corrupt and destroy it. Did we know nothing more of Cæsar, than what Sallust says of him, we should certainly take his character for a great and amiable one. But he has only given us the fair side
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of it, if it may be properly said, that it had one, without representing him in his true colours, as the friend and patron of the abandoned, the depraved, and desperate; as the promoter of public abuse and corruption; as one who took pleasure in embroiling and debauching the state; and as a monster of ambition. He put on indeed the guise of clemency, for which he has been highly celebrated by his flatterers, as if it had been a real, and not an assumed quality in him. But surely no one, who is acquainted with his character, will assert, that he, who was guilty of the greatest cruelty in making war upon, and enslaving his country, would have relinquished his mad schemes of ambition, if gentle methods had failed him, rather than have recourse to acts of blood and vengeance. After having seen how Marius and Sylla were hated for their personal cruelties, no wonder that he should put on the appearance of this, as well as of other virtues. But that clemency was not his natural character, we have the express testimony of his friend Curio, who well knew him: Cælius too, one of his partizans, freely says of him, in a letter to Cicero, that he meditated nothing, but what was violent and tragical, nor even spoke in any other strain.

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As partiality has made Sallust bestow false colours upon the character of Cæsar, so prejudice has kept him from placing that of Cicero in a clear and full light. He represents him indeed as an active, sensible, and diligent magistrate, allows him the character of an excellent consul, but bestows no greater degree of praise upon him, than what could not well be dissembled by an historian; and even what he says of him does not seem to come directly from the heart. But was no more than this scanty measure of praise due to the immortal Cicero? No greater tribute due from an impartial historian to the saviour of his country? Was this doing full justice to the superior abilities, the undaunted courage, the unwearied diligence, and uncommon sagacity, whereby Cicero baffled so desperate a conspiracy, and saved Rome from one of the greatest dangers that had ever threatened her? Is it not the duty of an historian to throw distinguished lustre on distinguished merit, and to brighten the character of a national deliverer? If so, then surely Sallust has fallen far short of his, in the account he has given of Catiline's conspiracy, which for this reason is a very defective performance.

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Had Cæsar done what Cicero did, his conduct had been related in very different strains, his praises copiously set before the reader, and his character represented in the fullest light. We should then have seen that masterly address, wherewith both senate and people were managed, that dexterity and artful management, whereby orders of men, the most averse to each other, were united in the common interest of their country; and that vigilance, wherewith the secret machinations of the conspirators were watched in silence, and a sufficient force prepared to resist them, before their black schemes were laid before the senate, amply displayed, and finely illustrated, together with a full account of the extraordinary honours which were the rewards of such distinguished services.

As the four orations of Cicero against Catiline contain several remarkable circumstances, and curious incidents not mentioned by Sallust in his history of the conspiracy, it has been thought proper to subjoin them to his account, that the orator may supply the defects of the historian.

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MEN who would act up to the dignity of their nature, ought not to pass their lives in obscurity, like the beasts of the field, formed with bodies prone to the earth, and under necessary subjection to their appetites.

Now our faculties are twofold ; those of the soul, and those of the body ; the soul was designed for sovereign command, the body for subjection : the former we enjoy in common with the gods, the latter with the brute creation. So that to me it appears more agreeable to nature, to pursue glory by the abilities of the mind, than those of the body ; and as our lives are but of short duration, it should be our study to render our memory immortal. For the splendor derived from riches and beauty is short-lived and frail ; virtue alone confers immortality.

It has, however been a great and long debate, whether success in war is most owing to bodily strength or mental abilities ; for, as counsel is necessary before we enter upon action ; after measures are duly concerted, speedy execution is equally necessary : so that neither of these being sufficient singly, they prevail only by the assistance of each other. Accordingly, kings of old (for this was the first title of authority among men) applied themselves differently ; some, to strengthen their bodies by exercise ; others, to improve their minds. Then, indeed,

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ambition had no share in influencing the conduct of men ; every one was satisfied with his own. But after Cyrus began in Asia, and the Lacedemonians and Athenians in Greece, to conquer cities and nations ; when the lust of power was thought a sufficient reason for commencing a war ; and glory was measured by the extent of dominion ; then it was discovered by experience, that genius conduces most to success. And if kings and rulers would exert their abilities in peace, as they do in war, the condition of human affairs would be much more steady and uniform ; nor should we see so frequent revolutions and convulsions in states, and such universal confusion. For the same arts, by which dominion was at first acquired, will serve to secure it. But when, instead of industry, moderation, and equity, sloth, licentiousness, and pride prevail, the fortune of a state changes with its manners. And thus power always passes from him who has least merit, to him who has most.

It is to the powers of the mind we owe the invention and advantages of agriculture, navigation, and architecture, and indeed all the other arts of life. Yet many there are in the world, who, abandoned to sloth and sensuality, without learning or politeness, pass their lives much like travellers ; and who, in opposition to the design of nature, place their whole happiness in animal pleasure, looking upon their minds as a heavy burden. The life and death of such as these, are to me of equal value, since there is no notice taken of either. He only seems to me to be truly alive, and to enjoy his rational nature, who, by engaging in an active course of life, pursues the glory that is derived from noble actions, or the exercise of some honourable employment. Now amidst a great variety of occupations, nature has directed men to different pursuits.

To act well for the state is glorious, and to write well for it, is not without its merit. A man may become illustrious in peace or in war : many have been applauded for performing heroic actions, many for relating them. And tho' the character of the historian is not reckoned so glorious as that of the hero ; yet, to me it appears a very arduous task to write history well ; since the stile must be suited to the subject. Besides, many look upon the censure of faults, as the effect of malice and envy ; and when the glorious atchievements of brave and worthy men are related ; every reader will be easily inclined to believe what he thinks he could have performed himself, but will treat what exceeds that measure, as false and fabulous.

As for me, like most others, I had, in my younger days, a strong desire for a share in the administration ; but found many obstructions in my way : for, instead of modesty, justice, and virtue, licentiousness, corruption, and avarice flourished ; which, tho' my soul, as yet untainted with evil habits, utterly abhorred ; yet, amidst such general depravity, my tender years were caught by ambition ; and although I avoided, in the general tenor of my conduct, the corrupt practices of the age, yet being fired with the same ardor for preferment, that others were, I was thence exposed to envy and reproach, as well as they.

As soon, however, as my mind was delivered from the many crosses and dangers attending this pursuit, and I had determined to retire, during the remainder of my life, from the administration, it was not my intention, to waste such valuable time in sloth and indolence ; nor to pass my days in agriculture, hunting, or the like servile occupations ; but

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resuming my former design, from which the cursed spirit of ambition had diverted me, I resolved to employ myself in writing such parts of the Roman history, as appeared to me to be most deserving of being transmitted to posterity; and this I chose the rather, because my mind was neither influenced by hope or fear, nor attached to any party in the state; accordingly, I shall here, with the utmost veracity, give a short account of Catiline's conspiracy; a memorable attempt, both for the enormous wickedness of it, and the danger it threatened. But before I enter directly upon the story, I shall give a short character of the man,

LUCIUS CATILINE was descended of an illustrious family: he was a man of great vigour both of body and mind; but of a disposition extremely profligate and depraved. From his youth he took pleasure in civil wars, massacres, depredations, and intestine broils; and in these he employed his younger days. His body was formed for enduring cold, hunger, and want of rest, to a degree indeed incredible: his spirit was daring, subtle, and changeable; he was expert in all the arts of simulation and dissimulation; covetous of what belonged to others, lavish of his own; violent in his passions: he had eloquence enough, but a small share of wisdom. His boundless soul was constantly engaged in extravagant and romantic projects, too high to be attempted.

Such was the character of Catiline; who, after Sylla's usurpation, was fired with a violent desire of seizing the government; and, provided he could but carry his point, he was not at all solicitous by what means. His spirit, naturally violent, was daily more and more hurried on to the execution of his design, by his poverty, and the consciousness of his crimes; both which evils he had heightened by the

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practices abovementioned. He was encouraged to it by the wickedness of the state, thoroughly debauched by luxury and avarice; vices equally fatal, tho' of contrary natures.

Now that I have occasion to mention the Roman manners, I am naturally led to look back a little to past ages; and to give a short account of the institutions of our ancestors, both in war and peace; how they governed the state; and in what grandeur they left it; and how, by a gradual declension, it has fallen from the highest degree of virtue and glory, to the lowest pitch of vice and depravity.

The Trojans, as far as I can learn, who were forced to fly from their native country, and wandered up and down, without any fixed abode, under the conduct of *Æneas*, were the founders of Rome, together with the *Aborigenes*, a barbarous race, subject to no laws, and restrained by no authority, but altogether independant and unaccountable. It is incredible, how easily these two nations, after they came to inhabit the same city, formed into one people, tho' differing in original, language, and manners. Afterwards, when wholesome institutions, an increase of territory and inhabitants, had rendered their state sufficiently flourishing and glorious; their opulence, such is the hard fate of almost all human affairs, became the object of envy; neighbouring princes and nations fell upon them in war, and but few of their friends came to their assistance; the rest, struck with terror, kept at a distance from the danger.

The Romans, however, fearless and undaunted, equally upon their guard both within and without the walls, acted with spirit and resolution; concerted their measures; encouraged one another; bold-

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ly faced the enemy ; and by their arms protected their liberty, their country, and their families ; then, after having repelled their own dangers, they carried assistance to their confederates, and procured themselves alliances, more by conferring than receiving favours.

The form of their government was monarchical ; but monarchy circumscribed by laws : a select number of men, whose bodies were indeed infeebled with years, but their minds in full vigour, formed a council for the direction of publick affairs ; they were called FATHERS, either on account of their age, or a similitude of concern. Afterwards, when the regal government, which was established for maintaining liberty, and aggrandizing the state, degenerated into pride and tyranny ; they abolished it, and created two magistrates with annual power ; this they thought would be the most effectual method to prevent that insolence, which a long continuance of power generally inspires.

This change in the form of their government produced a great alteration in their manners ; every one now exerted the utmost of his capacity in the service of his country, and was ready to display his talents upon all occasions. For under tyrants, the worthy are more exposed to jealousy than the worthless ; and great abilities are always dreaded by them. It is incredible to relate, how much the city increased in a short time, after the recovery of its liberty ; so great was the ardor of its citizens for glory. The youth, as soon as they were able to bear arms, betook themselves to the camp, where they were trained up to war by labour and practice ; and they took greater pleasure in fine armour and war-horses, than in lewdness and banqueting. To such men no toils were unusual, no situation grievous, no enemies

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formidable; their resolution surmounted all difficulties. But their chief contest for glory was with one another; every one laboured to signalize himself in the view of his fellow-soldiers, by striving to be the first in wounding the enemy, and scaling the walls. This they reckoned riches, this glory, and high rank. They were fond of applause, but liberal of money; they desired only a competent share of riches, but boundless glory. I could relate upon what occasions a handful of Romans has defeated mighty armies; and what cities, strongly fortified by nature, they have taken by assault; but this would carry me too far from my undertaking.

Yet surely fortune bears sovereign influence over every thing; it is she that brightens or obscures all things more from caprice and humour, than a regard to truth and justice. The actions of the Athenians were, I am ready to grant, sufficiently great and noble; though not to such a degree as fame has represented them: but as they had writers of great genius, their achievements are celebrated throughout the world as the greatest that ever were: and the bravery of those who performed them, is reckoned just as great as the abilities of these illustrious authors in extolling them. But the Roman people wanted this advantage; because their ablest men were the most employed in the service of the state. None cultivated their minds without bodily application. The worthiest men preferred doing to speaking; and chose rather that others should commend their virtuous actions, than they relate those of others.

Good morals therefore were cultivated both at home and abroad. A spirit of perfect harmony and disinterestedness every where prevailed. Laws had no greater influence in determining them to the
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practice of justice and equity, than natural disposition. The only quarrels, dissensions, and disputes they exercised, were against the public enemy : all the contests that subsisted among the citizens, were in virtuous deeds. They were magnificent in their offerings to the gods ; frugal in their families ; and faithful to their friends. Bravery in war, and equity and moderation in peace, were the only means by which they supported themselves and the publick affairs : and, as the clearest evidence of these virtues, I find, that, in time of war, such as engaged the enemy contrary to orders, or continued in the field after a retreat was sounded, were more frequently punished, than those who abandoned their standards, or quitted their posts ; and, in peace, they conducted the administration more by the force of favours than of terror ; and, if they received an injury, chose rather to forgive than revenge it.

But when by probity and industry, the state was become powerful ; when mighty princes were conquered in war ; barbarous nations and potent states reduced to obedience ; when Carthage, that vied with Rome for the empire of the world, was utterly demolished, and sea and land lay every where open to her power ; then fortune began to exert her malice, and throw every thing into confusion. Ease and riches, the grand objects of the pursuit of others, depressed and ruined those, who had, without regret, undergone toils and hardships, distresses, and dangers. First a love of money possessed their minds ; then a passion for power ; and these were the seeds of all the evils that followed. For avarice rooted out faith, probity, and every worthy principle ; and, in their stead, substituted insolence, inhumanity, contempt of the gods, and a mercenary spirit. Ambition obliged many to be deceitful, to belye with their tongues the sentiments of their hearts ;

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hearts ; to value friendship and enmity not according to their real worth, but as they conduced to interest ; and to have a specious countenance, rather than an honest heart. These corruptions at first grew by degrees, and were sometimes checked by correction. At last, the infection spreading like a plague, the state was intirely changed, and the government, from being the most righteous and equitable, became cruel and insupportable.

At first, indeed, the minds of men were more influenced by avarice than ambition, a vice which has some affinity to virtue ; for the desire of glory, power, and preferment, is common to the worthy and the worthless ; with this difference, that the one pursues them by direct means ; the other, being void of merit, has recourse to fraud and subtlety ; avarice has money for its object, which no wise man ever coveted. This vice, as if impregnated with deadly poison, enervates both soul and body ; is always boundless and insatiable ; nor are its cravings lessened by plenty or want. But when Sylla had by force of arms, made himself master of the state, and, from fair beginnings, brought matters to a bloody issue, his victorious troops gave themselves up to rapine and violence ; one coveted a house, another lands : they observed neither measure nor moderation, but exercised the most enormous and inhuman outrages upon the citizens. Besides, Sylla, to gain the affections of the army, which he had commanded in Asia, had, contrary to the rules of our ancestors, allowed them too great latitude, and indulged them in luxury : the warlike tempers of the soldiers, who were now without employment, became easily enervated, by their delicious quarters, and a life of pleasure. There the Roman troops first habituated themselves to lewdness and drinking ; to admire statues, pictures, and sculpture

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ture ; to make spoil of them both publicly and privately ; to plunder the temples of the gods, and to ravage every ever thing both sacred and profane. An army thus disposed, and victorious too, was sure to leave nothing to the conquered. For success unhinges the minds even of wise men ; how then should they who were so depraved, use their victory with moderation ?

When riches began to be held in high esteem, and attended with glory, honour, and power ; virtue languished, poverty was deemed a reproach, and innocence passed for ill-nature. And thus luxury, avarice, and pride, all springing from riches, enslaved the Roman youth ; they wanted in rapine and prodigality ; undervalued their own, and coveted what belonged to others ; trampled upon modesty, friendship, and continence ; confounded things divine and human, and threw off all manner of consideration and restraint.

To see the difference between modern and ancient manners, one needs but take a view of the houses of particular citizens, both in town and country, all resembling, in magnificence, so many cities ; and then behold the temples of the gods, built by our ancestors, the most religious of all men. But they thought of no other ornament for their temples, than devotion ; nor for their houses, but glory ; neither did they take any thing from the conquered, but the power of doing hurt. Whereas their descendants, the most effeminate of all men, have plundered from their allies, by the most flagrant injustice, whatever their brave ancestors left to their conquered enemies ; as if the only use of power was do wrong.

It is needless to recount other things, which none but those who saw them will believe ; as the levelling of mountains by private citizens ; and even covering the sea itself with fine edifices. These men appear to me to have sported with their riches, since they lavished them in the most shameful manner, instead of enjoying them with honour. Nor were they less addicted to lewdness, and all manner of extravagant gratifications : men prostituted themselves like women ; women laid aside all regard to chastity. To procure dainties for their tables, sea and land were ransacked. They indulged to sleep, before nature craved it ; the returns of hunger and thirst were anticipated with luxury ; and cold and fatigue were never so much as felt. The Roman youth, after they had spent their fortunes, were prompted by such depravations, to commit all manner of enormities ; for their minds, impregnated with evil habits, and unable to resist their craving appetites, were violently bent upon all manner of extravagancies, and all the means of supplying them.

In so great and debauched a city, Catiline had always about him, what was no difficult matter to find in Rome, bands of profligate and flagitious wretches, like guards to his person. For all those who were abandoned to gluttony and voluptuousness, and had exhausted their fortunes, by gaming, feasting, and lewdness ; all who were overwhelmed with debts, contracted to purchase pardon for their crimes ; add to this, parricides and sacrilegious persons from all quarters ; such as were convicted for crimes, or feared conviction ; nay farther, all who lived by perjury and shedding the blood of citizens ; lastly, all whom wickedness, indigence, or a guilty conscience, disquieted, were united to Catiline in the firmest bonds of friendship and intimacy. Or
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if any person of an unblameable character became familiar with him, by daily conversation, and the snares that were laid to debauch him, he too soon resembled, and even equalled the rest. But what he chiefly courted was the intimacy of young men: their minds being soft and pliable, were easily ensnared. Some of these he provided with harlots; bought horses and dogs for others, gratifying the favourite passion of each: in a word, he spared no expence, nor even his own honour, to engage them heartily in his interests. Some there were, I know, who thought, that the youth, who frequented Catiline's house, were guilty of unnatural lewdness; but this rumour, I apprehend, was more owing to other reasons, than that there was any clear evidence of the fact.

As for Catiline himself; he had, when very young, been guilty of many abominable acts of lewdness: debauched a Vestal, and a young lady of quality; with several other atrocious crimes, in open contempt of all law and order; afterwards he conceived a passion for Aurelia Orestilla, one, who had nothing but her beauty to recommend her; and because she scrupled to marry him, on account of his having a son who was arrived at years of maturity, it is believed as a certain fact, that he destroyed that son, and made his house desolate, to open a way for this so infamous an alliance. And this indeed appears to me to have been the principal cause that pushed him on to the execution of the conspiracy. For his guilty soul, at enmity with gods and men, could find no rest; so violently was his mind torn and distracted by a consciousness of guilt. Accordingly his countenance was pale, his eyes ghastly, his pace, one while quick, another slow; and indeed in all his looks there was an air of distraction.

As

As for the youth whom he had seduced in the manner above related, they were trained up to wickedness by various methods : he taught them to be false witnesses, to forge deeds, to throw off all regard to truth, to squander their fortunes, and slight dangers : and after he had stripped them of all reputation and shame, he pushed them on to crimes still more heinous ; and, even when no provocation was given, it was their practice to insnare and murder those who had never injured them, as well as those who had. For he chose to be cruel and mischievous without any cause, rather than the hands and spirits of his associates should lose their vigour for want of employment.

Catiline, confiding in these friends and accomplices, formed a design to seize the government : he found an additional encouragement from the number of those who were oppressed with debts throughout the state, and the disposition of Sylla's soldiers, who, having squandered away what they had lately acquired, and calling to remembrance their former conquests and depredations, longed for a civil war. Besides, there was no army in Italy : Pompey was carrying on a war in the remotest parts of the earth : he himself was in great hopes of obtaining the consulship : the senate seemed careless of the public ; and all things were quiet : a conjuncture of circumstances extremely favourable to his designs.

Accordingly, about the first of June, in the consulship of L. Cæsar and C. Figulus, he first applied himself to his accomplices ; some he encouraged, others he founded ; acquainted them how strongly he was supported ; how few forces the government had to oppose him ; and laid before them the great
ad-

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advantage that would attend the conspiracy. Having sufficiently sifted them, he called all those together, who were most necessitous and daring.

In this assembly were found of senatorial rank, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. Sylla and S. Sylla, the sons of Servius; L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, and Q. Curtius: of the equestrian order, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, and C. Cornelius, to whom were joined many from the colonies and municipal towns, all men of figure in their several countries. There were likewise several noblemen engaged in this conspiracy, tho' not so openly: men excited not by want, or any pressing consideration, but by the hopes of lawless power. Besides these, almost all the youth, especially the youth of quality, favoured Catiline's undertaking: even those who had it in their power to live at their ease, nay, splendidly and luxuriously, preferring uncertainties to certainties, and discord to peace. Some there were at that time too, who believed that M. Licinius Crassus was privy to the design; because he hated Pompey, who was at the head of a great army; to reduce whose power, he would willingly have promoted any interest whatever: besides, he hoped, if the conspiracy succeeded, that he should find it easy to make himself head of the conspirators.

Some time before this, a like conspiracy had been formed by a few, among whom was Catiline, of which I shall give the best account I am able.

In the consulship of L. Tullus and M. Lepidus, P. Autronius and P. Sylla, who were chosen to succeed them, had been prosecuted for bribery at elections and punished. Not long after, Catiline was
like-

likewise convicted of bribery, and hindered from suing for the consulship, because he could not declare himself a candidate within the limited time. At this time too, Cn. Piso, a young nobleman, extremely bold, indigent, and factious, was instigated by his poverty and depraved morals to raise commotions in the state. Catiline, Autronius, and he entering into a combination about the fifth of December, determined to murder the consuls L. Torquatus and L. Cotta in the capitol, on the first of January: upon which Catiline and Autronius were to seize the consulship, and send Piso with an army to take possession of both the Spains. But their design being discovered, they put off the assassination-plot to the fifth of February; at which time they proposed not only to murder the consuls, but likewise most of the senators. And if Catiline had not been too forward in giving the signal to his associates, before the senate-house, there had been that day the most bloody massacre Rome had ever seen. But as no great number of the conspirators had yet got together, the scheme was frustrated.

Notwithstanding this, Piso, tho' he had only the office of quæstor, was afterwards sent into Nether-Spain, in quality of proprætor, by the interest of Crassus; because he knew him to be an irreconcilable enemy to Pompey. Nor was the senate indeed averse to his having the province, for they were desirous to have so turbulent a citizen at a great distance from them; besides, a great many, who wished well to the interests of the state, looked upon him as a defence to it, now the power of Pompey was become formidable. But Piso, in his march to his province, was murdered by some Spanish horse he had in his army. Some there are who ascribe his death to his haughty, arbitrary, and tyrannical behaviour in his command, which the Barbarians

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could not bear. Others alledge, that these soldiers assassinated Piso by Pompey's order, whose old followers they were, and devoted to his interest : that the Spaniards had never attempted any such thing before, but had often submitted patiently to the merciless orders of their commanders. As for me, I shall leave the matter undetermined ; and have now said enough of the first conspiracy.

When Catiline saw those, whose names we have already given, assembled together ; tho' he had often conferred with them singly, yet, judging it proper to address and encourage them in a body, he withdrew with them into a private part of the house, where none could hear him but the conspirators, and there spoke to them in the following manner.

' If your bravery and fidelity were not well known to me, the present opportunity had occurred to no purpose ; vain would all our great hopes have been ; the power of seizing the government had dropped into our hands in vain ; nor should I, depending upon dastardly and irresolute associates, have hazarded certainties for uncertainties. But as I have, upon many important occasions, proved your bravery and attachment to me, I have dared to engage in an enterprize of the highest consequence, and the greatest glory. It is an additional encouragement to me, when I consider the harmony of our desires and aversions, which is the firmest bond of friendship.

' Now the nature of my undertaking, you have already heard severally ; and my ardor to put it in execution encreases daily, when I consider, what must be our future lot, unless we recover our liberty. For since the government came under the power and management of a few ; kings and
princes

princes have been tributary to them, and nations
 have paid them taxes; whilst all the rest of us
 citizens, however worthy or brave, noble or plebi-
 an, have remained as a sorry mob, without interest
 or authority; slaves to those, to whom we should
 be a terror, were the state but in its due vigour.
 All sway, preferment, interest, and riches, are
 now in their hands, or those of their favourites;
 to us they have left nothing but dangers, repulses
 from publick dignities, the terror of tribunals,
 and the buffetings of poverty. Which indignities,
 how long will ye tamely submit to, ye bravest of
 men? Is it not better to die in a brave attempt,
 than to drag a wretched and infamous life, and
 to lose it at last shamefully, after having been the
 sport of other mens insolence? But I take gods
 and men to witness, that success is in our hands;
 our bodies and minds are in full vigour; on the
 other hand, they are on the decline in every
 respect, oppressed with years and riches. All that
 is necessary, is only to make the attempt; when
 once the undertaking is set on foot, every thing
 else will follow in course. For who that has the
 spirit of a man, can bear with patience, that they
 should have such a superfluity of riches, as to la-
 vish them, in raising mighty edifices on the deep,
 and levelling mountains, whilst we have not so
 much as the necessaries of life; that they should
 be multiplying their seats, whilst we have no fixed
 habitation; that, tho' they are constantly buying
 pictures, statues, and vessels of curious workman-
 ship, pulling down new houses, and building
 others; in short, tho' they waste and dissipate their
 wealth by every extravagant method; yet, by all
 the efforts of profusion, they are unable to exhaust
 it. As for us, we have poverty at home, and
 debts abroad; our condition is bad, our expec-
 tation much worse; finally, what have we left,

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' but a wretched life. Rouse then to action ! Be-
 ' hold the object you have often wished for, behold
 ' liberty ! and in her train, riches, glory, and ho-
 ' nour, all full in your view ! all these rewards for-
 ' tune has prepared for the conquerors. But let the
 ' present conjuncture and opportunity ; let your
 ' dangers, your poverty, and the glorious spoils of
 ' war, animate you more powerfully than any words
 ' of mine. As for me, use me as you please, either
 ' as a leader, or as a private soldier. I shall always
 ' be with you, both in council and execution. But
 ' I hope to act as consul with you in this en-
 ' terprize ; if, after all, I am not deceived in my
 ' opinion of you, and you prefer not slavery to
 ' empire.

Upon hearing this harangue, his associates, who
 were all extremely wretched, destitute of every
 thing, and even void of every honest hope ; though
 they were pleased with the thought of embroiling the
 state, and even looked upon that as a great recom-
 pence ; yet most of them desired, that he would de-
 clare to them, upon what terms they were to engage
 in the war, and what were to be their rewards ; what
 strength they had to depend upon, and what hopes
 of success. Then Catiline promised them an abo-
 lition of their debts, the proscription of the rich ;
 dignities, sacred and civil ; plunder, and every other
 advantage that the uncontrouled pleasure of con-
 querors, includes. Besides, he told them, that Piso,
 and P. Sittius Nucerinus were both privy to his de-
 sign ; the former with an army in Spain, the other
 at the head of one in Mauritania. That C. An-
 tonius was candidate for the consulship, whom he
 hoped to have for his colleague, one who was his in-
 timate, and embarrassed with all manner of dif-
 ficulties ; and that in conjunction with him, he
 would begin the execution of his design, as soon as
 they

they should enter upon their office. After this he proceeded to inveigh bitterly against all men of worth; commended his own accomplices, and calling to every one by his name, some he put in mind of their poverty, others of their amours, several of their dangers and disgraces, and many of the booty they had got, in consequence of Sylla's victory. Then perceiving all their spirits elevated, he pressed them to take care of his interest at the next election, and dismissed the assembly.

Some there were at that time, who said, that Catiline, when he had ended his speech, and proceeded to administer an oath to his associates, presented them all round with a bowl of human blood mixed with wine; that, when they had all tasted and sworn, as is usual in solemn sacrifices, he disclosed his design to them; and that he did this in order to engage them more strictly to mutual faith, as each was privy to the guilt of another in so horrible a fact. But some believe that this, and much more, was invented by those, who thought to allay the odium which fell upon Cicero for putting the conspirators to death, by aggravating their crimes: But I could never meet with clear evidence for so extraordinary a fact.

In this conspiracy was Q. Curius, a man of no mean family, but loaded with crimes, and, as a mark of disgrace, expelled the senate by the censors. This man had an equal share of levity and audaciousness; whatever he heard he disclosed; nor could he even conceal his own crimes; in a word, he neither considered what he said or did. There had been, for a long time, a criminal correspondence between him and Fulvia, a lady of quality; but finding himself less agreeable to her than formerly, because his poverty would not suffer him to

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be so liberal ; all on a sudden he began to tempt her with great promises, boasting of seas and mountains of wealth ; sometimes he threatned to kill her, if she would not be obsequious ; in a word, he behaved more haughtily than he had ever done before. When Fulvia learned the ground of this insolent behaviour, she did not conceal what threatened so much danger to the state ; but, without mentioning her author, discovered to many all that she had heard of Catiline's conspiracy. This discovery made the people zealous to confer the consulship on M. T. Cicero : for before this, most of the nobility stemed thro' envy, and thought that the consular dignity was in a manner profaned, if a new man, however deserving, should be raised to it. But when danger threatned, pride and envy were dropped.

Accordingly, when the assembly for elections was held, M. Tullius and C. Antonius were declared consuls ; which was a heavy blow to the conspirators. Catiline's fury, however, was not in the least abated ; he exerted himself every day more and more ; provided magazines of arms in all the most convenient places of Italy ; borrowed money either on his own credit, or that of his friends, and conveyed it to Fæsulæ, to one Manlius, who first began the war. At this juncture, he is said to have engaged in his interest great numbers of all ranks ; and some women too, who had once been able to support a vast expence by prostitution ; but, when age had lessened their gain, tho' not their luxury, had contracted great debts. By their means, he expected to bring over to his party the city slaves to set fire to the city, and either engage their husbands, or, in case of refusal, have them slain.

Among these was Sempronia, a woman of a masculine spirit, and who had often been engaged in
many

many daring and hardy enterprizes. In her person and family, in her husband and children, she was abundantly happy; well acquainted with the Greek and Roman languages; and had more charms in musick, and dancing, than became a virtuous woman, with many other accomplishments subservient to luxury. Indeed, there was nothing she less valued than honour and chastity, and it is hard to say, whether she spared her money or her reputation least. So raging and violent was her lust, that she made advances to men more frequently than they did to her. She had often forfeited her faith, perjured herself to avoid paying her debts, been privy to murders; in a word, her extravagance and indigence had carried her to the utmost excesses of wickedness. Notwithstanding all this, she had a great deal of wit, could compose verses, was very facetious in conversation, could talk modestly, tenderly, or satirically: In short, she excelled in humour and pleasantry.

Having taken these measures, Catiline, notwithstanding his late repulse, declared himself a candidate for the consulship against the ensuing year; in hopes, if he should be chosen, of using Anthony as he pleased. Nor was he unactive in the mean time, but contriving endless machinations for the destruction of Cicero, who was not wanting in dexterity and subtilty to defeat them. For, from the beginning of his consulship, he had successfully employed Fulvia, to engage, by force of promises, Q. Curius, whom we have already mentioned, to discover all Catiline's designs: and by promising a province to his colleague, he had prevailed upon him not to act against the state. Besides, he had always about him a number of his friends and clients to guard his person. When the day of election came, Catiline, finding that neither his suit for the consulship, nor his plots to cut off Cicero in the

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field of Mars, had succeeded, determined upon open war, and to try the utmost extremities ; since his secret attempts had ended in disappointment and infamy.

Accordingly, he dispatched C. Manlius to Fæsulæ and the adjacent parts of Etruria, one Septimius of Camertes to the territory of Picenum, and C. Julius into Apulia ; others too he sent to different places, just as he thought it subservient to his purpose. Mean while he was making several efforts at Rome at once ; laying fresh snares against the life of the consul ; contriving to set fire to the city ; placing armed men in convenient posts : he himself was constantly armed, and ordered his followers to be so too ; was ever pressing them to be upon their guard, and prepared for action ; day and night he was in a hurry ; lived without sleep ; and was nevertheless indefatigable under all his toils. At last, perceiving that his numerous efforts were unsuccessful, he employed M. Porcius Læcca to summon together the principal conspirators once more in the dead of night ; and after having complained grievously of their inactivity, he informed them, that he had sent Manlius to command a body of men, which he had prepared to take up arms ; that he had likewise dispatched others to different places to begin the war ; and that he himself longed earnestly to go to the army ; if he could but first destroy Cicero ; for that he greatly obstructed all his measures.

Now, when all the rest remained fearful and irresolute, C. Cornelius, a Roman knight, and L. Var-gunteius a senator, offered their service ; they agreed to go that very night to Cicero's house, with a few armed men, under pretence of making him a visit, and to assassinate him by surprize. Curius, as
soon

soon as he learned what danger threatned the consul, dispatched Fulvia to acquaint him with the plot; so that when they came, entrance was denied them, and their black attempt frustrated.

Mean while Manlius was exciting the people in Etruria to take arms; who, both from their poverty, and their resentment of the injuries done them under Sylla's usurpation, when they were deprived of their lands and all they had, were of themselves desirous of innovations. He likewise engaged robbers of all kinds, who were very numerous in that country, with some of Sylla's old soldiers too, who by their debauchery and extravagance had squandered away all their former acquisitions.

Cicero, upon hearing of these transactions, was struck with so threatening an evil; and not being able any longer to defend the city against the plots of the conspirators, by his own private management; nor being apprized of the strength or views of Manlius's army, laid the matter before the senate, which already had been the subject of publick conversation. Whereupon the senate, as was usual in cases of extreme danger, passed a decree, 'that the consuls should take care the state suffered no detriment;' by which they were empowered (such is the policy of the Roman government) to raise forces, make war, exercise an unlimited jurisdiction over the citizens and allies, and to bear sovereign command both in the city and in the field; none of which things fall under their authority, without a special ordinance of the people.

A few days after, L. Lænius, a senator, read a letter in the senate, which he said was brought him from Fæsulæ; acquainting him, that C. Manlius had taken arms about the latter end of October,
with

with a numerous body of men. To this, some added, as is usual on such occasions, accounts of omens and prodigies; others related that unusual cabals were held; arms carried to different places, and that the slaves were arming in Capua and Apulia. Whereupon, by a decree of the senate, Q. Marcius Rex was sent to Fæsulæ, and Q. Metellus Creticus to Apulia and the adjacent parts; both these officers had been commanders of armies, and were waiting without the city for the honour of a triumph, which was refused them by the malice of a few, whose custom it was to make sale of every thing, honourable and infamous. The prætors too, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and Q. Metellus Celer were sent, the one to Capua, the other to Picenum; and power was given them to raise forces according to the exigency of the times, and the degree of danger. Besides, the senate decreed, that if any one would make any discovery, concerning the conspiracy against the state, he should have, if a slave, his liberty, and a hundred thousand sesterces; if a freeman, his pardon and two hundred thousand. It was likewise decreed, that bands of gladiators should be sent to Capua, and the other municipal towns, according to the strength of each; and that guards should be posted at Rome, in every quarter, under the command of the inferior magistrates.

With all these things the city was deeply affected, and assumed a new face; from the highest jollity and riot, such as spring from a lasting peace, sorrow of a sudden appeared upon every countenance. There was nothing but universal hurry and confusion; no place was thought secure; no person fit to be trusted; they neither enjoyed peace, nor were at war; every one measured the publick danger by their private fears. The women too, full of apprehensions of war, which the great power of the state had

had formerly secured them against, gave themselves up to sorrow and lamentation ; raised their suppliant hands to heaven ; bewailed their tender children ; were eager for news ; frightened at every thing ; and laying aside their pride and pleasures, became anxious for themselves and their country. Yet the cruel spirit of Catiline persisted in the same desperate pursuit, notwithstanding the preparations that were made to defeat his measures, and tho' he himself stood arraigned by L. Paulus, upon the Plautian law ; nay, he even came to the senate-house, the better to dissemble his design ; as if, provoked by injurious representations, he only came to clear his character. As soon as he appeared, the consul Cicero, either fearing some bad effects from his presence, or fired with indignation, made that flaming speech *, so useful to the state, which he afterwards published. As soon as he had sat down, Catiline, resolved to deny every article, with down-cast looks and suppliant voice, begged of the fathers not to believe too hastily, what was alledged against him ; that such was his birth, and such had been his conduct from his youth, that he had reason to hope for a very favourable impression from the public ; and it was not to be imagined, that one of the Patrician order, whose ancestors, as well as himself, had done so many services to the Roman people, should want to overturn the government ; while Cicero, a stranger, and late inhabitant of Rome, was so zealous to defend it. As he was going on with his invectives against the consul, the senate, raising a general outcry, called him traitor and parricide. Upon which, abandoning himself to fury and despair, since, says he, I am circumvented and driven headlong by my enemies, I will quench the flame raised about me by the common ruin.

* See appendix.

Upon this, he rushed out of the assembly, and went home ; where reflecting much with himself, and considering that his designs against the consul had proved unsuccessful, and that it was impossible to set fire to the city, by reason of the guards that were placed every where ; he judged it most advisable to reinforce his army, and to make all necessary preparations for war, before the legions were raised ; and accordingly set out in the dead of night, for Manlius's camp, with a few attendants. Before his departure, however, he gave instructions to Lentulus and Cethegus, and those of his associates whom he knew to be most daring and resolute, to strengthen the party by all possible means ; to dispatch the consul as soon as they could ; to have every thing in readiness for the intended massacre, the firing of the city, and the other feats of war ; promising, that he himself would, in a short time, come to the city at the head of a great army.

During these transactions at Rome, C. Manlius sent deputies to Q. Marcius Rex, with orders to acquaint him in the following manner :

‘ We call gods and men to witness, O general, that we have neither taken up arms against our country, nor with a view to hurt any particular person, but to defend ourselves from injuries, wretched and needy as we are, through the violence and cruelty of usurers ; most of us deprived of our habitations, and all of our reputation and fortunes ; none of us allowed the protection of the laws, as our forefathers were, nor so much as the liberty of our persons, when nothing else is left us ; such has been the cruelty of the usurers and prætors. Your ancestors, out of compassion to the people of Rome, have often relieved their
wants

wants by their decrees ; and but lately in our own times, on account of the great pressure of debts, they have obliged the creditors to compound, and that with the approbation of every worthy man. The people have often taken arms, and separated from the senate, prompted either by a passion for power, or the insolence of their magistrates ; as for us, we neither desire power nor riches, which are the sources of all the wars and contests among men ; liberty is our aim, that liberty which no brave man will lose, but together with his life. Wherefore we conjure you and the senate, to espouse the interests of your wretched fellow-citizens, to restore to us the protection of the laws, torn from us by the iniquity of the prætors ; and not reduce us to the fatal necessity, of studying to perish in such a manner, as amply to avenge our own blood on those who have oppressed us.

To this, Q. Marcius replied, ‘ That if they had any petition to present to the senate, they must forthwith quit their arms, and repair to Rome as suppliants ; that such had been the clemency and compassion of the senate and people of Rome on all occasions, that no one had ever applied to them in vain for relief.

Now Catiline, in his way to the camp, sent letters to several persons of consular dignity, and indeed to every one of distinguished merit ; representing, ‘ That being beset with false accusations, and unable to resist the faction of his enemies, he submitted to his fortune, and was going a voluntary exile to Marseilles ; not that he was conscious of the horrid treason he was charged with, but out of regard to the tranquility of the state, and
to

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‘ to prevent any disturbances that might arise from
‘ his opposition.’

But a letter of a quite different kind was read in the senate by Q. Catulus, which he declared he had received from Catiline ; a copy of which here follows :

L. Catiline to Q. Catulus, health.

‘ **Y**OUR great friendship to me, which I have so
‘ often proved when in my greatest dangers, in-
‘ spires me with confidence to apply to you upon
‘ this occasion. Wherefore, I shall not offer you
‘ any defence of my present measures ; as I am con-
‘ scious of no guilt, I shall only make a declara-
‘ tion of my innocence, for the truth of which I
‘ appeal to the gods.

‘ Being provoked by injuries and false accusations ;
‘ deprived of the rewards of my services ; and dis-
‘ appointed of the dignity I sued for ; I have, ac-
‘ cording to my usual practice, undertaken the
‘ cause of the oppressed ; not that I am urged to
‘ this by my debts, for my estate is sufficient to dis-
‘ charge what I owe on my own account ; and Ore-
‘ stilla would (such is her generosity) clear all my
‘ engagements on account of others, out of her
‘ own fortune, and that of her daughters. But
‘ seeing men of no merit raised to the highest ho-
‘ nours of the state, and myself set aside upon
‘ groundless jealousies, I have, upon this account,
‘ taken such measures for preserving the small re-
‘ mains of my dignity, as my present situation will
‘ sufficiently justify. I should have said more to
‘ you ; but I am just now informed, that violent
‘ measures are taken against me ; I therefore con-
‘ clude with recommending Orestilla to your pro-
‘ tection ;

OF CATILINE. 31

tection; beseeching you, by the regard you have
for your own children, to defend her from injuries.
Adieu.'

Having staid a few days with C. Flaminius in the territory of Reate, till he had furnished that neighbourhood, which had before been gained over to his party, with arms, he proceeded with the fasces, and the other ensigns of consular authority, to Manlius's camp. When this was known at Rome, the senate declared Catiline and Manlius enemies to the state; with pardon to such of their followers, as should quit their arms by a certain day, those only excepted who were under sentence for capital crimes. They likewise decreed, that the consuls should levy forces; that C. Antonius should pursue Catiline with all expedition, and Cicero stay to defend the city. The Roman state, at this juncture, appears to me to have been in a condition extremely deplorable; since, tho' all nations, from the rising to the setting sun, were reduced to its obedience; tho' peace and prosperity, the greatest blessings of life, in the estimation of men, reigned at home; there were yet some of her citizens desperately bent on their own ruin and that of the commonwealth. For, notwithstanding the two decrees of the senate, not a man was found, amongst the numerous followers of Catiline, to accept the reward, and discover the conspiracy; not a single person to desert his camp. So strong a spirit of disaffection had, like a pestilence, taken possession of their minds.

Nor were the conspirators, and their accomplices, the only disaffected persons; the whole body of the populace, from their passion for a revolution, approved Catiline's designs, nor in this did they act contrary to their usual character. For in all states,
those

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those that are poor, envy the possessions of the great; extol the extravagant, hate what they have been long accustomed to; long for changes; and, from a dislike to their own condition, endeavour to throw every thing into confusion: in times of publick disorder and discord, they find their subsistence without any trouble; since poverty is alwas attended with this advantage, that it has nothing to lose. But the Roman populace were become extremely degenerate from several causes; chiefly, because all who were remarkable for wickedness and violence; such as had squandered their fortunes in riot and extravagance; in a word, all they who were forced from their native country for their crimes; flocked to Rome from all quarters, as into a common sink. Many again were continually reflecting upon Sylla's success; whence they had seen some common soldiers raised to the dignity of senators, and others so enriched, that in pomp and splendor they lived like kings; and every one hoped, in case of a civil war, to gain the victory, and the same advantages from it. Besides, the young men in the country, who were accustomed to earn a scanty subsistence by their labour, being drawn to Rome by the allurements of publick and private largesses, preferred the ease of the city to their hard labour in the fields: these, with all others of the like character, found their support in the calamities of the state. So that it is not to be wondered at, that such men as these, oppressed with poverty, of dissolute lives, and extravagant views, should consult the interests of the state, just as far as they were subservient to their own. They too, whose parents had been proscribed, whose estates were confiscated, and who had been deprived of the privileges of citizens, under the tyranny of Sylla, had the same expectations from a war as the others had. Moreover, all they who were of any party, different from that of the senate, wished

wished rather to see the state embroiled, than themselves without power : a mighty evil ! which, after having lain dormant for many years, had again revived in the city.

For after the tribunitian authority was restored, under the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, certain young men, whose age and spirits were full of fire, having acquired that high dignity, began by inveighing against the senate, to enflame the populace; then by largesses and great promises, to heighten their rage, and thus gained great credit and power to themselves.

The greatest part of the nobility exerted their utmost efforts in opposition to them, in appearance, to support the grandeur of the senate, but in reality, their own. For, to declare the truth in few words, all, who raised commotions in the state in those days, made use of specious pretences ; some, to assert the rights of the people ; others to advance the authority of the senate ; all to promote the publick good ; whilst every one only endeavoured to gain power to himself. Their contests were carried on without any bounds or moderation ; and whatever party prevailed, made a cruel use of the victory.

But when Pompey was sent against the pirates and Mithridates, the power of the people declined, and the whole sway was in the hands of a few. These engrossed all publick offices, the government of the provinces, and every thing else ; lived unaccountable themselves, in great ease and security ; overawed the popular magistrates with impeachments, and thus prevented them from spiriting up the people. But as soon as there was any hopes of a change in the state ; the old contest fired the

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minds

minds of the populace. And if Catiline had conquered in the first engagement, or come off but with equal loss, great distress and calamity must certainly have overwhelmed the state: nor would the conquerors have long enjoyed their victory; but, when they were weakened and exhausted, whoever had most power, would have seized the government, and subverted liberty.

Some there were, however, who, though not concerned in the conspiracy, yet immediately joined Catiline. Amongst these was A Fulvius, the son of a senator; who was taken upon the road, brought back to the city, and put to death by his father's orders. At the same time Lentulus, in obedience to Catiline's orders, was endeavouring to gain over, by himself, or others, all such as from their characters or circumstances he thought proper to be employed in bringing about a revolution; not only citizens of Rome, but all that could bear arms.

Accordingly he employed one P. Umbrenus to apply to the deputies of the Allobroges, and engage them, if possible, to join in the war: for he imagined, that, as they were oppressed both with public and private debts, and the whole nation of the Gauls was naturally warlike, it would be no difficult matter to persuade them to enter into such a design. Umbrenus, having traded in Gaul, was known to most of the principal men in it, and acquainted with their characters. Accordingly, without any delay, as soon as he saw the deputies in the Forum, after putting a few questions to them concerning the state of their nation, and affecting a deep concern for their grievances, he proceeded to ask, what issue they hoped for to their calamities? then perceiving that they complained of the covetousness of our magistrates; that they inveighed
against

against the senate for yielding them no protection ; and that they expected from death alone a remedy to their miseries ; he replied, if you will only act like men, I will put you upon a method to get rid of all your pressures. The Allobroges, upon hearing this, conceived mighty hopes, and besought Umbrenus, to take pity upon them ; for that there was no enterprize so difficult or dangerous, wherein they would not with the utmost readiness engage, provided it would free their state from so vast a load of debt. He then carried them to the house of D. Brutus, which joined to the Forum, and was a very proper place for such a consultation, Sempromnia being an accomplice, and Brutus then from Rome. To give the greater weight to what he had to say, he sent for Gabinius too, before whom he laid open to them the conspiracy, named all who were engaged in it, and also many innocent persons of every rank, to give them the greater courage : and then dismissed them, after they had promised their assistance.

The Allobroges, however, were long in suspense, what course to take. On one side were pressing debts, a passion for war, and the prospect of great advantages from victory : on the other, superior power, safe measures, and instead of uncertain hopes, a certain recompence. While they were thus balancing, the fortune of Rome prevailed. Accordingly they discovered all they knew of the conspiracy to Q. Fabius Sanga, upon whose patronage their nation chiefly depended. Cicero, apprized of the matter by Sanga, ordered the deputies to feign a mighty zeal for the conspiracy, to go to the rest of the accomplices, to promise largely, and endeavour to bring them under as clear conviction as possible.

Much about the same time, there were commotions in Hither and Further Gaul, in the territory of Picenum, in Brutium and Apulia. For those whom Catiline had sent thither, acted like mad-men, pushing inconsiderately all their measures at once ; and by their consultations in the night time, their carrying arms to and fro, their eager haste, and precipitate proceedings, caused more alarm than danger. Many of these, Q. Metellus Celer the prætor committed to prison, agreeably to the decree of the senate ; as did C. Muræna in Hither Gaul, where he was deputy-governor.

At Rome, in the mean time, Lentulus, with the other heads of the conspiracy, presuming upon a sufficient force, resolved, that as soon as Catiline arrived with his army in the territory of Fæsulæ, L. Bestia the tribune should assemble the people, inveigh against Cicero's conduct, and lay the blame of so distressful a war upon the best of consuls ; that, upon this sign I, the whole body of the conspirators should, on the ensuing night, betake themselves to the discharge of their respective parts, which were said to be assigned them in the following manner. Statilius and Gabinius, with a considerable party, were to set fire at once to twelve of the most convenient places in the city, that in the general hurry, they might the more easily reach the consul, and all those whom they designed to assassinate. Cethegus was to force Cicero's house, and put him to death ; whilst others were employed elsewhere in the like manner : young men too there were, living as yet with their parents (mostly indeed from amongst the nobility) who were to kill their fathers ; and when they had spread consternation and horror every where, by flames and massacre, they were to march out and meet Catiline.

Whilst

Whilst they were thus resolving and forming their measures, Cethegus was constantly complaining of want of spirit in his associates; that, by their irresolution and delay, they abused the fairest opportunities; that, in so dangerous an enterprize, action was more necessary than deliberation; that for himself, would a few only but support him, he would, notwithstanding the cowardice of others, attack the senate-house. As he was naturally of a daring resolute spirit, and brave in his person, he thought the success depended upon expedition.

Now the Allobroges, according to Cicero's instructions, procured a meeting, by means of Gabinus, with the rest of the conspirators; and demanded from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and likewise from Cassius, an oath signed severally by them, to carry to their countrymen, who, otherwise, would not be easily prevailed upon to engage in an affair of so great importance. The rest, suspecting nothing, readily granted it: but Cassius promised that he would be in their country in a short time, and accordingly left Rome a little before the deputies. In company with these, Lentulus sent one Volturcius of Crotona, that, before they went home, they might ratify the league with Catiline by mutual ties. He likewise gave Volturcius a letter for Catiline, in the following words.

‘ Who I am, you will learn from him whom I
 ‘ have sent to you. Consider your great danger, and
 ‘ remember you are a man: recollect what your
 ‘ situation requires: seek assistance from all, even
 ‘ the lowest.’

Besides, he gave him verbal instructions to expostulate with Catiline, ‘ how he could reject the as-

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‘ sistance of the slaves, when he was declared a public enemy by the senate :’ to acquaint him likewise, ‘ that all preparations were made in Rome, according to his directions ; and that he himself must not delay to advance.’

Upon this, Cicero, on the night fixed for the departure of the deputies, from whom he had learned all, ordered the prætor V. Flaccus, and C. Pomptinus to lie in wait for the Allobroges at the Milvian bridge, and to secure them. He acquainted them at the same time, with the reason of thus employing them, and left them to act as they should see occasion. According to orders, they posted their guards quietly, and silently beset the bridge. When the deputies and Volturcius arrived, a shout was set up on both sides, and the Gauls soon understanding their design, immediately surrendered themselves to the prætors. Volturcius at first, encouraging his companions, defended himself with his sword against the numbers who surrounded him ; but seeing himself forsaken by the deputies, he began earnestly to beseech Pomptinus as his acquaintance, to spare his life ; at last, full of dread and despair, he surrendered himself to the prætors, as if they had been foreign enemies.

Immediately upon this, messengers were dispatched with an account of it to Cicero, who was seized at once with great joy and anxiety. He was glad to see the state rescued from ruin, by a full discovery of the conspiracy ; but what perplexed him, was the difficulty of knowing how to proceed against citizens of such eminence, convicted of such horrid treason. To punish them he thought would create him many enemies, and to let them pass unpunished, would ruin the state ; wherefore arming his mind with resolution, he ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius,
and

and Gabinius to be summoned before him, as likewise Cæparius of Terracina, who was upon the point of marching to Apulia to raise the slaves. The others came immediately ; but Cæparius, having gone from home a little before, and learned that all was discovered, had fled from the city. The consul took Lentulus, who was then prætor, by the hand, and conducted him to the senate, which he had assembled in the temple of Concord, whither he ordered the rest to be brought under guard. Volturcius and the deputies were introduced into a very full house, and Flaccus was ordered to bring the packet of letters, which he had received from them.

Volturcius being questioned about his journey, the packet of letters, and lastly, what his design was, and from what motives he acted ; made, at first, ridiculous pretences, affecting to know nothing of the conspiracy. But being promised his pardon, upon the security of the public faith, he discovered every thing ; and told them, that a few days before Gabinius and Cæparius had drawn him in for an associate ; that he knew no more than the deputies did ; only he used to hear Gabinius say, that P. Autronius, Ser. Sulla, L. Vargunteius, with many more, were engaged in the conspiracy. The Gauls gave the same account ; they likewise convicted Lentulus (who pretended ignorance of the whole matter) not only by his letters, but by his common discourse, ‘ that, according to the Sibylline oracles, ‘ three of the Cornelian family should be sovereigns ‘ of Rome ; that Sylla and Cinna had been so already ; and he himself was now the third, appointed by the fates to be master of the city ; ‘ besides, that the present was the twentieth year ‘ from the burning of the capitol, which the augurs, ‘ from several prodigies, had often foretold, would

‘ produce a civil war and much bloodshed.’ Upon this, the letters were read, and the criminals having acknowledged their signets, the senate decreed, that Lentulus should lay down his office, and, together with the rest, be kept in custody. Accordingly, Lentulus was delivered to P. Lentulus Spinter, who was then ædile ; Cethegus to Q. Cornificius ; Statilius to C. Cæsar ; Gabinius to M. Crassus ; and Cæparius (who was taken in his flight, and brought back immediately before) to Cn. Terentius, a senator.

Mean while the populace, which at first, from their passion for a revolution, were too fond of a civil war, upon discovery of the conspiracy, changed their sentiments ; cursed the designs of Catiline ; extolled Cicero to the skies ; and, like people rescued from bondage, gave themselves up to mirth and jollity. For tho’ they expected more advantage than loss, by the ordinary events of the war ; yet they looked upon the firing of the city as an inhuman, barbarous attempt, and extremely distressful to themselves ; whose whole substance consisted in what supported them from day to day, and what they daily wore.

The day after was brought before the senate one L. Tarquinius, who was going to join Catiline, as was reported, and apprehended by the way. This man offering to give a particular account of the conspiracy, upon the security of the publick faith for his pardon, was ordered by the consul to declare what he knew. He then gave the senate almost the same account Volturcius had done, of the design to fire the city, of the intended massacre of the best citizens, and of the march of the army to Rome ; adding, that he was sent by Crassus, to tell Catiline, not to be discouraged by the apprehending

ing of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators, but to make the greater haste to the city, to rescue them from danger, and revive the spirit of the rest.

When Tarquinius named Crassus, a man of high quality, great riches, and vast credit in the state; they all called out, that he was a false witness, and desired that it might be debated. Some thought it quite incredible, others, tho' they believed the charge to be true, yet thought that a person of so great influence ought at such a juncture rather to be courted than exasperated: besides, most of the senators were under private obligations to Crassus. Accordingly it was agreed in a full senate, at the motion of Cicero, that Tarquinius's evidence appeared to be false; that he should be ordered to prison, and confined till he discovered by whose advice he had framed so impudent a falsehood. Some there were at that time, who thought that this evidence was a contrivance of P. Autronius, that Crassus, by being involved in the same danger with the rest of the conspirators, might protect them by his power. Others said, that Tarquinius was put upon it by Cicero, to prevent Crassus from embroiling the state, by undertaking to protect villains, as was his custom. I heard Crassus indeed himself affirm, that this contumely was fixed upon him by Cicero.

Yet, at the same time, Q. Catulus and C. Piso were not able to prevail upon Cicero, either by interest, importunity, or any offers whatever, to have C. Cæsar falsely accused by the Allobroges, or any other evidence. For both these gentlemen were inveterate enemies to him; Piso, because Cæsar had obtained judgment against him for bribery, in sentencing to death a man beyond the Po, unjustly;

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Catulus was fired with resentment, because Cæsar, tho' but a young man, in their competition for the office of high-priest, had carried it against him in his old age, after having enjoyed the highest honours of the state. Now this they thought was a favourable opportunity to bring him under suspicion: for by his great liberality to private persons, and great largesses to the people, he had contracted vast debts. But not being able to persuade the consul to so black a crime, they themselves, by going about from man to man, and charging Cæsar with many instances of guilt, which they pretended to have heard from Volturcius and the Allobroges, brought great odium upon him, insomuch, that certain Roman knights, who were posted about the temple of Concord, as a guard to the senate, whether struck with the greatness of the danger, or animated by a nobler principle, to testify their zeal for the public, threatened him as he came out of the house with their drawn swords.

Whilst these things were transacting in the senate, and rewards decreeing to the deputies of the Allobroges and Volturcius, whose discoveries were approved; the freedmen, and a few of the dependants of Lentulus, went into different parts of the city, some endeavouring to prevail upon the slaves and workmen in the streets, to rescue him by force; others searching after the ringleaders of the mob, who used for hire to raise commotions in the state. Cethegus too, sent messengers to his domestick slaves and freedmen, fellows trained up to audacious enterprizes, begging of them to form themselves into an armed body, and come to his deliverance. The consul, as soon as he received information of these proceedings, placed guards as the time and exigency required; and assembling the senate, desired to know, ' what they would please to determine, concerning

those

those who were now in custody ? A full senate had indeed but lately declared them publick traitors. Then D. Junius Silanus, who was first asked his opinion, as being consul elect, voted for capital punishment to be inflicted, not upon the prisoners only, but likewise upon L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus and Q. Annius, if they should be apprehended : but afterwards yielding to the strength of Cæsar's arguments, he declared himself of the same sentiments with Tiberius Nero, who had proposed that the guards should be strengthened, and the debate adjourned. Cæsar, when asked by the consul in his turn, spoke as follows :

‘ It is the duty of all men, conscript fathers, in their deliberations upon subjects of difficult determination, to divest themselves of hatred and affection, of revenge and pity. The mind, when clouded with such passions, cannot easily discern the truth ; nor has any man ever gratified his own headstrong inclination, and at the same time answered any valuable purpose. When we exercise our judgment only, it has sufficient force ; but when passion possesses us, it bears sovereign sway, and reason is of no avail. I could produce a great many instances of kings and states pursuing wrong measures, when influenced by resentment or compassion. But I had rather set before you the example of our fore-fathers, and shew how they acted, in opposition to the impulses of passion, but agreeably to wisdom and sound policy. In the war which we carried on with Perses, king of Macedonia, Rhodes, a mighty and flourishing city, which owed all its grandeur too to the Roman aid, proved faithless, and became our enemy. But when the war was ended, and the conduct of the Rhodians came to be taken into consideration, our ancestors pardoned them, that none might

‘ say

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' say the war had been undertaken more on account
 ' of their riches, than of injuries. In all the Pu-
 ' nic wars too, tho' the Carthaginians, both in time
 ' of peace, and even during a truce, had often in-
 ' sulted us in the most outrageous manner, yet, our
 ' ancestors never improved any opportunity of re-
 ' taliating; considering more what was worthy of
 ' themselves, than what might in justice be done
 ' against them.

' In like manner, conscript fathers, ought you to
 ' take care, that the wickedness of Lentulus, and
 ' the rest of the conspirators, weigh not more with
 ' you, than a regard to your own honour; and that,
 ' while you gratify your resentment, you do not
 ' forfeit your reputation. If a punishment indeed
 ' can be invented adequate to their crimes, I ap-
 ' prove the extraordinary proposal made; but
 ' if the enormity of their guilt is such, that human
 ' invention cannot find out a chastisement propor-
 ' tioned to it, my opinion is, that we ought to
 ' be contented with such as the law has pro-
 ' vided.

' Most of those who have spoke before me, have,
 ' in a pompous and affecting manner, lamented the
 ' situation of the state; they have enumerated all
 ' the calamities of war, and the many distresses of
 ' the conquered; virgins ravished; youths unnat-
 ' urally abused; children torn from the embraces
 ' of their parents; matrons forced to bear the brutal
 ' insults of victorious soldiers; temples and private
 ' houses plundered; all places filled with flames and
 ' slaughter; finally, nothing but arms, carcases,
 ' blood and lamentations to be seen.

' But, for the sake of the immortal Gods, to
 ' what purpose were such affecting strains? was it

to raise in your minds an abhorrence of the conspiracy ? as if he, whom so daring and threatening a danger cannot move, could be enflamed by the breath of eloquence. No ; this is not the way ; nor do injuries appear light to any one that suffers them ; many stretch them beyond their due size. But, conscript fathers, different allowances are made to different persons, when such as live in obscurity are transported by passion to the commission of any offences, there are few who know it ; their reputation and fortune being upon a level : but those who are invested with great power, are placed upon an eminence, and their actions viewed by all ; and thus the least allowance is made to the highest dignity. There must be no partiality, no hatred, far less any resentment or animosity in such a station. What goes by the name of passion only in others, when seen in men of power, is called pride and cruelty.

‘ As for me, conscript fathers, I look upon all tortures as far short of what these criminals deserve. But most men remember best what happened last ; and, forgetting the guilt of wicked men, talk only of their punishment, if more severe than ordinary. I am convinced, what D. Silanus, that brave and worthy man, said, was from his zeal to the state, and that he was neither biassed by partiality nor enmity ; such is his integrity and moderation, as I well know. But his proposal appears to me not indeed cruel (for against such men what can be cruel ?) but contrary to the genius of our government. Surely Silanus you was urged by fear, or the enormity of the treason, to propose a punishment quite new. How groundless such fear is, it is needless to shew ; especially, when by the diligence of so able a consul, such powerful forces are provided for our security ; and

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' as to the punishment, we may say, what indeed is
 ' the truth, that to those who live in sorrow and
 ' misery, death is but a release from trouble ; that
 ' it is death which puts an end to all the calamities
 ' of men, beyond which there is no room for care
 ' and joy. But why, in the name of the gods,
 ' did not you add to your proposal, that they should
 ' be punished with stripes ? was it, because the Por-
 ' cian law forbids it ? but there are other laws too
 ' which forbid the putting to death a condemned
 ' Roman, and allow him the privilege of banish-
 ' ment. Or was it because whipping is a more se-
 ' vere punishment than death ? Can any thing be
 ' reckoned too cruel or severe against men convicted
 ' of such treason ? But if stripes are a lighter pu-
 ' nishment, how is it consistent to observe the law in
 ' a matter of small concern, and disregard it in one
 ' that is of greater ?

' But you will say, who will find fault with any
 ' punishment decreed against traitors to the state ?
 ' I answer, time may, so may sudden conjunctures ;
 ' and fortune too, that governs the world at plea-
 ' sure. Whatever punishment is inflicted on these
 ' parricides, will be justly inflicted. But take care,
 ' conscript fathers, how your present decrees may
 ' affect posterity. All bad precedents spring from
 ' good beginnings ; but when the administration is
 ' in the hands of wicked or ignorant men, these
 ' precedents, at first just, are transferred from pro-
 ' per and deserving objects, to such as are not so.

' The Lacedemonians, when they had conquered
 ' the Athenians, placed thirty governors over them ;
 ' who began their power by putting to death, with-
 ' out any trial, such as were remarkably wicked,
 ' and universally hated. The people were highly
 ' pleased at this, and applauded the justice of such

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executions. But when they had by degrees established their lawless authority, they wantonly butchered both good and bad without distinction; and thus kept the state in awe. Such was the severe punishment, which the people, oppressed with slavery, suffered for their foolish joy.

‘ In our own times, when Sylla, after his success, ordered Damasippus and others of the like character, who raised themselves upon the misfortunes of the state, to be put to death, who did not commend him for it? all agreed that such wicked and factious instruments, who were constantly embroiling the commonwealth, were justly put to death. Yet this was an introduction to a bloody massacre. For whoever coveted his fellow-citizen’s house, either in town or country, nay even any curious piece of plate, or fine raiment, took care to have the possessor of it put upon the list of the proscribed.

‘ Thus they, who had rejoiced at the punishment of Damasippus, were soon after dragged to death themselves; nor was an end put to this butchery, till Sylla had glutted all his followers with riches. I do not indeed apprehend any such proceedings from M. Cicero, nor from these times. But in so great a city as ours, there are various characters and dispositions. At another time, and under another consul, who may have an army too at his command, any falsehood may pass for facts; and when, upon this precedent, the consul shall, by a decree of the senate, draw the sword, who is to set bounds to it? who to moderate its fury?

‘ Our ancestors, conscript fathers, never wanted conduct nor courage; nor did they think it unworthy of them to imitate the customs of other
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‘ nations, if they were useful and praise-worthy.
 ‘ From the Samnites they learned the exercise of
 ‘ arms, and borrowed from them their weapons of
 ‘ war; and most of their ensigns of magistracy from
 ‘ the Tuscans; in a word, they were very careful
 ‘ to practise whatever appeared useful to them,
 ‘ whether amongst their allies or their enemies;
 ‘ choosing rather to imitate, than envy what was
 ‘ excellent.

‘ Now in those days, in imitation of the custom
 ‘ of Greece, they inflicted stripes on guilty citizens,
 ‘ and capital punishment on such as were condemn-
 ‘ ed. But when the commonwealth became great
 ‘ and powerful, and the vast number of citizens
 ‘ gave rise to factions; when the innocent began to
 ‘ be circumvented, and other such inconveniences
 ‘ to take place; then the Porcian and other laws
 ‘ were made, which provided no higher punishment
 ‘ than banishment, for the greatest crimes. These
 ‘ considerations, conscript fathers, appear to me of
 ‘ the greatest weight against our pursuing any new
 ‘ resolution on this occasion. For surely, their vir-
 ‘ tue and wisdom, who, from so small beginnings,
 ‘ raised so mighty an empire, far exceeds ours,
 ‘ who are scarce able to preserve what they acqui-
 ‘ red so gloriously. What shall we discharge the
 ‘ conspirators, you’ll say, to reinforce Catiline’s
 ‘ army? By no means; but my opinion is this;
 ‘ that their estates be confiscated; their per-
 ‘ sons closely confined in the most powerful cities of
 ‘ Italy; and that no one move the senate or the peo-
 ‘ ple for any favour towards them, under the penalty
 ‘ of being declared by the senate, an enemy to the
 ‘ state, and the welfare of its members.’

When Cæsar had made an end of speaking, and
 the rest of the senators, either by words or signs,
 ap-

approved or disapproved of the several proposals made ; Cato, being asked his opinion, delivered it in the following speech.

‘ I am very differently affected, conscript fathers, when I view our present situation, and the danger we are in ; and then consider with myself the proposals made by some senators who have spoke before me. They appear to me to have reasoned only about the punishment of those, who have entered into a combination to make war upon their country, upon their parents, upon religion and private property ; whereas our present circumstances warn us rather to guard against them, than to consider, in what manner we shall punish them. You may take vengeance for other crimes after they are committed ; but if you do not prevent the commission of this, when it is once accomplished, in vain will you have recourse to the tribunals. When the city is once taken, no resource remains to the conquered citizens.

‘ Now I conjure you, by the immortal gods, you, who have always valued your fine houses in town and country, your pictures, your statues, more than the welfare of the state ; if you are desirous to preserve these things, which, whatever their real value be, you are so fond of ; if you would have leisure for pursuing your pleasures ; rouse for once out of your lethargy, and take upon you the defence of the state. The debate is not about the publick revenues, nor the oppression of our allies : no ; our liberties, our lives are in danger.

‘ Often, conscript fathers, have I spoke in this house ; often have I complained of the luxury and avarice of our fellow-citizens ; upon which ac-

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‘ count

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' count I bear the enmity of many: I, who never
 ' indulge myself in any vice, nor even cherished
 ' the thought of any, could not easily pardon the
 ' crimes of others. And tho' you little regarded
 ' my remonstrances, yet the commonwealth remain-
 ' ed firm; her native strength supported her, even
 ' under the negligence of her governors. But the
 ' present debate is not about the goodness or de-
 ' pravity of our morals; nor about the greatness or
 ' prosperity of the Roman empire; no, it is whe-
 ' ther this empire, such as it is, continue our own,
 ' or, together with ourselves, fall a prey to the
 ' enemy.

' And in such a case, will any one talk of gen-
 ' tleness or mercy? We have long since lost the
 ' true names of things. To give away what be-
 ' longs to others, is called generosity; to attempt
 ' what is criminal, fortitude; and thence the
 ' state is reduced to the brink of ruin. Let them,
 ' since such is the fashion of the times, be gene-
 ' rous from the spoils of our allies; merciful to
 ' the plunderers of the treasury; but let them not
 ' be prodigal of our blood, and by sparing a few
 ' bad citizens, destroy all the good.

' C. Cæsar has just now spoke, with great strength
 ' and accuracy, concerning life and death, taking
 ' for fictions, I doubt not, the vulgar notions of an
 ' infernal world; where the bad, separated from
 ' the good, are confined to dark, frightful, and
 ' melancholy abodes. Accordingly, his proposal is,
 ' that their estates be confiscated, and their persons
 ' confined in the corporate towns; from an ap-
 ' prehension, I imagine, that, if they were kept at
 ' Rome, they might be rescued by force, either by
 ' their fellow-conspirators, or a mercenary mob:
 ' as if wicked and profligate persons were only to
 ' be

be found in this city, and not all over Italy ; or, as if there were not more encouragement to the attempts of the desperate, where there is least strength to resist them.

‘ This then is an empty proposal, if he fears any danger from them ; but if, amidst this so great and universal consternation, he alone is void of fear ; so much the more does it concern me, to be afraid, both for my self and you.

‘ Wherefore, in determining the fate of Lentulus, and the other prisoners, be assured, that you likewise determine that of Catiline’s army, and all the conspirators. The more vigour and resolution you exert, so much the less spirit and courage will they have ; but if they observe the least remissness in your proceedings, they will presently fall upon you with fury.

‘ Do not think, it was by arms, our ancestors raised the state, from so small beginnings, to such grandeur : if so, we should have it in its highest lustre ; as having a greater number of allies and citizens, of arms and horses, than they had. But there were other things from which they derived their greatness, such as we are intirely without. They were industrious at home, and exercised an equitable government abroad ; their minds were free in council, neither swayed by crimes nor passion. Instead of these virtues, we have luxury and avarice ; poverty in the state, and great wealth in the members of it ; we admire riches, and abandon ourselves to idleness ; we make no distinction between the virtuous and the wicked ; and all the rewards of virtue are possessed by ambition. Nor is it at all strange, whilst each of you pursues his separate interest ; whilst you

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‘ abandon yourselves to pleasure at home, and here
 ‘ in the senate, are slaves to money or favour ; that
 ‘ attacks are made upon the state when thus forsaken.
 ‘ But no more of this.

‘ Romans of the highest quality have conspired
 ‘ to destroy their country, and are endeavouring to
 ‘ engage the Gauls, the sworn enemies of the Ro-
 ‘ man name, to join them. The commander of
 ‘ the enemy is hovering over us with an army ; and
 ‘ yet at this very juncture, you delay and hesitate
 ‘ how to proceed against such of the conspirators as
 ‘ are seized within your walls ; would you extend
 ‘ your compassion towards them ? be it so ; they are
 ‘ young men only, and have offended through ambi-
 ‘ tion ; send them away armed too : what would be
 ‘ the consequence of this gentleness and mercy ?
 ‘ why this, when they got arms in their hands, it
 ‘ would prove your utter ruin.

‘ Our situation is indeed dangerous ; but you are
 ‘ not afraid : yes, you are very much ; only from
 ‘ effeminacy, and want of spirit, you are in sus-
 ‘ pence, waiting every one the motions of another ;
 ‘ trusting perhaps to the immortal gods, who have
 ‘ often saved this commonwealth in the greatest
 ‘ dangers. But assistance is not obtained from the
 ‘ gods by idle vows, and supplications like those of
 ‘ women ; it is by vigilance, activity, and wise
 ‘ counsels, that all undertakings succeed ; if you
 ‘ resign yourselves to sloth and idleness, it will be
 ‘ in vain to implore the assistance of the gods ; you
 ‘ will only provoke them to anger, and they will
 ‘ make you feel it.

‘ In the days of our ancestors, A. Manlius Tor-
 ‘ quatus, in a war with the Gauls, ordered his son
 ‘ to be put to death, for having engaged the enemy
 ‘ with-

‘ without orders ; and thus a young man of great
 ‘ hopes was punished for too much bravery. And
 ‘ do you demur about the doom of the most barbarous
 ‘ parricides ?

‘ Their present offence perhaps is unsuitable to
 ‘ their former character : shew a tender regard then
 ‘ for the dignity of Lentulus, if you find that he
 ‘ himself ever shewed any for his own chastity, for
 ‘ his honour, for gods or men ; pardon Cethegus, in
 ‘ consideration of his youth, if this is not the second
 ‘ time of his making war upon his country.
 ‘ For what need I mention Gabinius, Statilius, Cæ-
 ‘ parius ? who, if they had possessed the least degree
 ‘ of reflection, would never have embarked in
 ‘ such wicked designs against the state.

‘ Finally, conscript fathers, were there any room
 ‘ for a wrong step on this occasion, I should suffer
 ‘ you to be corrected by the consequences, since
 ‘ you disregard my reasonings. But we are surrounded
 ‘ on all sides : Catiline is hovering over our heads
 ‘ with an army ; we have enemies within the walls,
 ‘ and in the very heart of the city. No preparations
 ‘ can be made, no measures taken without their knowledge :
 ‘ hence the greater reason for dispatch.

‘ My opinion then is this, that since by a detestable
 ‘ combination of profligate citizens, the state is brought
 ‘ into the greatest danger ; since they are convicted by
 ‘ the evidence of Volturcius, and the deputies of the
 ‘ Allobroges, and their own confession, to have entered
 ‘ into a conspiracy for destroying their fellow-citizens
 ‘ and native country, by slaughter, conflagration, and
 ‘ other unheard of cruelties ; they be put to death,
 ‘ according to the ancient usage, as being condemned
 ‘ by their own mouths.’

When Cato had done speaking, all of consular dignity, and the greatest part of the senate indeed, applauded his opinion ; extolled his resolution to the skies ; and reproached one another with pusillanimity. Cato was looked upon as a great and illustrious patriot ; and a decree passed conformable to his proposal.

Now as I have read and heard much of the glorious achievements of the Roman people, in war and peace, both by sea and land ; I was very desirous to discover the cause to which they were principally owing. I knew that they had often, with a handful of men, engaged mighty armies : I was not ignorant, that with small forces they had carried on war against powerful princes ; that they had often supported themselves under the severe buffetings of adverse fortune ; that the Greeks surpassed them in eloquence, and the Gauls in military glory. And having duly weighed every cause, I was convinced, that all was owing to the great virtue of some particular persons ; hence it was that poverty triumphed over riches, and a handful of men prevailed over great numbers. Nay, after Rome became depraved by luxury and sloth, the commonwealth still supported herself by her native strength, under the miscarriages of her magistrates and generals : even when, like a mother past bearing, she did not produce, for a long time, any citizen of distinguished merit.

Two, however, I myself remember, Cato and Cæsar, both men of great abilities, but different characters ; whom, as so fair an opportunity presents itself, I would not omit taking notice of ; but shall endeavour, in the best manner I am able, to display the temper and manners of each.

As

As to their extraction, years, and eloquence, they were pretty nigh equal. Both of them had the same greatness of mind, both the same degree of glory, but in different ways; Cæsar was celebrated for his great bounty and generosity; Cato for his unfulfilled integrity; the former became renowned by his humanity and compassion; an austere severity, heightened the dignity of the latter. Cæsar acquired glory by a liberal, compassionate, and forgiving temper; as did Cato, by never bestowing any thing. In the one the miserable found a sanctuary; in the other, the guilty met with certain destruction. Cæsar was admired for an easy yielding temper; Cato for his immoveable firmness. Cæsar, in a word, had formed himself for a laborious, active life; was intent upon promoting the interest of his friends, to the neglect of his own; and refused to grant nothing that was worth accepting; what he desired for himself, was to have sovereign command, to be at the head of armies, and engaged in new wars, in order to display his military talents. As for Cato, his only study was moderation, regular conduct, and above all, rigorous severity. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious; but taking a nobler aim, he contended in bravery with the brave; in modesty with the modest; in integrity with the upright; and was more desirous to be virtuous, than appear so: so that the less he courted fame, the more it followed him.

When the senate had agreed to Cato's proposal, as I have already related, the consul thought it most expedient to put the sentence in execution immediately, lest any new attempt should be made in the night, which was just at hand; and accordingly ordered the triumvirs to get every thing in readiness

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for it. He himself, after posting the guards, conducted Lentulus to prison, as the prætors did the rest.

There is a place in the prison, after a small descent to the left, called Tullus's dungeon, sunk about twelve feet underground, secured on all sides with strong walls, and above with an arch of stone ; a dark, noisome solitude, frightful to behold. Lentulus, being thrust down into this place, was presently strangled by the executioners, appointed for that purpose. Such was the death of this noble patrician, who had borne the office of consul, and was descended from the most illustrious family of the Corneliî : a death due to his life and crimes. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius, were executed in the same manner.

During these transactions at Rome, Catiline out of all the forces which he had carried with him, and those under the command of Manlius, formed two legions ; filled up the several cohorts, according to the number of his men : then distributing equally amongst them all the volunteers, with those who were sent him by his associates, he soon saw his legions complete ; though he had at first but two thousand men. But of these a fourth part only were completely armed ; the rest were furnished with whatever chance threw in their way ; some had darts, some spears, and others sharp stakes.

As soon as Antony approached with his army, Catiline betook himself to the mountains ; one while advancing towards Rome, another towards Gaul ; and by this means deprived the enemy of an opportunity of fighting him. He was indeed in daily hopes of receiving great reinforcements, if his accomplices executed their designs at Rome. In the mean

mean time, he refused to take the slaves into his service, who flocked to him in great numbers from the very beginning; trusting to the strength of the conspiracy, and likewise conceiving that it would be bad policy, to appear to blend the cause of freemen with that of fugitive slaves.

But when news reached the camp, that the conspiracy was discovered at Rome; that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest abovementioned were put to death; most of those, who were tempted to take arms by the hopes of spoil, or a passion for changes, presently left him. The rest he led by long marches over steep mountains into the territory of Pistorium, with a design to escape into Cisalpine Gaul by obscure roads.

Q. Metellus Celer, who at that time commanded three legions in the territory of Picenum, judged that Catiline, in his present difficulties, would take this very course. Accordingly, having learned from his deserters, what rout he had taken, he immediately decamped, and posted himself at the foot of the mountains, just where Catiline was obliged to pass in his way to Gaul. Nor was Antony far behind, who pursued the flying rebels, through ways more level, at the head of a great army. When Catiline saw himself enclosed by the mountains, and the enemies troops; that his designs had miscarried in the city; that there was neither hope of escaping nor receiving any succour; he thought his best way, in such a situation, was to try the fortune of a battle, and determined to engage Anthony as soon as possible. Accordingly, assembling his troops, he spoke to them in the following manner:

‘ I

' I have learned by experience, fellow-soldiers,
 ' that words cannot inspire courage, nor a general's
 ' speech render a spiritless and timorous army, brave
 ' and intrepid. Every man displays in battle, just
 ' so much courage as nature or habit has given him,
 ' and no more. It is to no purpose to exhort him,
 ' whom neither glory nor danger can animate; his
 ' fear deprives him of his hearing. I have assembled
 ' you, fellow-soldiers, to instruct you in a few
 ' particulars, and to lay before you the grounds of
 ' my final resolution.

' You all know, what a dreadful calamity Lentulus
 ' by his slow and spiritless conduct has brought
 ' upon himself and us; and how I have been prevented
 ' from marching into Gaul, by waiting for reinforcements
 ' from Rome. In what posture our affairs now are,
 ' you all see, as well as I. Two armies, one from Rome,
 ' another from Gaul, obstruct our motions. Want of
 ' provisions, and other necessities, will not allow us
 ' to make any longer stay here, were we ever so
 ' desirous of doing it. To what place soever you think
 ' of marching, you must open yourselves a passage
 ' with your swords. I conjure you then to summon up
 ' all your courage; to act like men resolute and
 ' undaunted; to remember when you engage, that you
 ' carry in your hands riches, honour, and glory; nay,
 ' even your liberty and your country. If we overcome,
 ' all will be safe; we shall have plenty of provisions;
 ' the corporate towns and colonies will be all ready
 ' to receive us. But if we flinch through fear, the
 ' very reverse will be our fate; nor will any place or
 ' friend protect those, whom arms could not. Let
 ' me add to this, my fellow-soldiers, that we have
 ' different motives to animate us, from what the
 ' opposite army has. We fight for our country,

' for

for our liberty, for our lives ; they, for no interest of their own, but only to support the power of a few. Let this consideration then, engage you to fall upon them the more courageously, remembering your former bravery.

‘ We might indeed, have passed our days, with the utmost infamy, in banishment : some of you too might have lived at Rome, depending, for your subsistence upon others, after having lost your own estates. But such a condition appearing infamous and intolerable to men of spirit, you resolved upon the present course ; which if you desire to leave, you must exert your courage : none but a conqueror hath ever exchanged war for peace. For to hope for security from flight, when you have turned from the enemy the arms which serve to defend you, is the height of madness. In battle, the most timorous are always in most danger : courage is a wall of defence. When I consider your characters, fellow-soldiers, and reflect upon your past achievements, I have great hopes of victory : your spirit, your age, your virtue, encourage me ; and our necessity too, which even inspires cowards with bravery. For the streightness of our situation will prevent the enemies numbers from surrounding us. But should fortune envy your bravery, be sure you fall not, without taking due vengeance upon the enemy ; suffer not yourselves to be taken and butchered like cattle ; but fight rather like men, and leave the enemy a bloody and mournful victory.’

Pausing a little after this speech, he ordered to sound to battle ; and led down his forces in their ranks to the plain. Then, sending away all the horses, in order to encourage his men the more, by making the danger of all equal ; he himself, on foot, drew

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drew up his army in order of battle, according to its number and the nature of the place. For as there lay a plain on his left, bounded by the mountains, and a steep rock on his right, he placed eight cohorts in his front, and the rest he posted in closer order to support them.

From amongst these, he drew out the choicest centurions, the honorary veterans, and the bravest and best armed of the common soldiers, and placed them in the front. He appointed C. Manlius to command the right, and a native of Fæsulæ the left; he himself with his freedmen, and such troops as he had raised in the colonies, stood by the eagle; the same which C. Marius was said to have had in his army in the Cimbrian war.

On the other side, C. Antony, being hindered by the gout from being present at the engagement, gave the command to M. Petreius his lieutenant-general.

He posted the veteran cohorts, which he had raised on this occasion, in the front; and the rest of his army behind them, as a body of reserve. He himself rode from rank to rank, and addressing himself to his men by their names intreated and conjured them, 'to remember that they were now 'to engage against unarmed robbers, in defence of 'their gods, their country, their children and their 'property.' As he was an old soldier, having served in the army upwards of thirty years, as tribune, præfect, lieutenant-general, or prætor, and that with distinguished renown; he knew most of the soldiers, and their gallant actions; and by calling these to remembrance, he roused their courage.

Petreius, having taken all his measures with the utmost precaution, sounded to battle, and ordered his cohorts to advance slowly: the enemy did the same. But when they were come near enough for the light armed soldiers to begin the fight; they set up a mighty shout, rushed with great fury into a close engagement, and, laying aside their darts, made use of their swords only. The veterans, mindful of their former bravery, pressed vigorously upon the rebels, who made a bold resistance; so that the fight was maintained with great obstinacy. Catiline was all the while in the first line, at the head of a light armed body; sustaining such as were severely pressed; putting fresh men in the room of those that were wounded; providing for every exigence, often charging the enemy in person; and performing at once the duty of a brave soldier, and a great commander.

Petreius, when he found that Catiline, contrary to his expectations, exerted himself with great vigour, brought up the Prætorian cohort against his main body, broke their ranks, and made great slaughter of them, as he did likewise of the others who maintained their ground elsewhere. Then he fell upon both the wings at once. Manlius and the other officer from Fæfulæ were both killed, fighting in the foremost rank. Catiline, when he saw his forces routed, and himself left with a few only; mindful of his birth, and former dignity, rushed headlong into the thickest of the foe, where he fell, covered with wounds, and fighting to the last.

When the engagement was ended, it evidently appeared, with what undaunted spirit and resolution Catiline's army was fired. For the body of every one was found upon that very spot, which, during the

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the battle he had fought from ; those only excepted, who were forced from their posts by the prætorian cohort ; and even they, though they fell a little out of their ranks, were all wounded before. Catiline himself was found, far from his own men, amidst the dead bodies of the enemy, breathing a little, with an air of that fierceness still in his face, which he had when alive. Finally, in all his army, there was not so much as one free citizen taken prisoner, either in the engagement or in the flight ; for they spared their own lives as little as those of the enemy. The army of the republic obtained the victory indeed, but it was neither a cheap nor a joyful one ; for their bravest men were either slain in battle, or dangerously wounded. As there were many too, who went to view the field, either out of curiosity, or a desire of plunder, in turning over the dead bodies, some found a friend, some a relation, and some a guest ; others there were likewise who discovered their enemies : so that through the whole army, there appeared a mixture of gladness and sorrow, joy and mourning.

THE
ORATIONS
OF
CICERO,
AGAINST
CATILINE.

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THE FIRST
ORATION
AGAINST
CATILINE.

Spoken in the SENATE.

HOW far, Catiline, wilt thou abuse our patience? How long are we to be braved and insulted by thy frantic rage? How far dost thou intend to push thy insolent and desperate guilt? Art thou not struck by the troops posted by night to secure the Palatium? not struck by the city guards? not by the consternation of the people? not by the unanimity of every worthy Roman? not by our assembling in this place of strength? not by the looks and countenances of the fathers of Rome? Dost thou not perceive that all thy black designs are brought to light? art thou ignorant that the senators are thoroughly apprized of thy conspiracy, and thereby all thy guilty measures disconcerted and restrained? Which of us all, dost thou imagine, is unacquainted with thy last night's practices? which of us with those of the night preceding? who amongst us does not know the associates that were then summoned by thee, the place of meeting, and the measures concerted?

Alas for our degeneracy! alas for the depravity of the times! The senate knows, the consul beholds all this: yet the traitor lives! lives? nay, he mixes with the senate, takes part in our counsels, and with his looks marks us out severally for destruction; whilst we, brave men! think we discharge

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charge our duty to the state, if we can but escape his rage and devouring sword. Long since, Catiline, should the consul have ordered thee to execution, and discharged upon thy own guilty head, the vengeance thou hast been long meditating against us all. Could that noble Roman, Publius Scipio, chief pontiff, but without any magistracy, kill Tiberius Gracchus for endeavouring, tho' without any violent methods, to undermine the government? And shall we consuls suffer Catiline to live, who is bent upon laying waste the world with slaughter and conflagration? I omit, as too remote, the example of Q. Servilius Ahala, who, with his own hand, put to death Spurius Melius, for meditating a revolution in the state. Such, such, I say, was the brave spirit, with which this republic was once animated, that far more ample vengeance was taken upon a pestilent citizen, than the most inveterate publick enemy. We have, Catiline, a weighty and awful decree of the senate against thee; the state wants not wisdom, nor this assembly due authority; we only, we the consuls, I speak it openly, are wanting in our duty.

Formerly, when the senate decreed that L. Opimius, the consul, should take care, 'the common-wealth received no detriment;' not a night passed, before C. Gracchus was put to death, for being suspected of sedition, though he was descended of a father, grandfather, and ancestors, all highly distinguished for their services to the state: Marcus Fulvius too, a person of consular dignity, shared the same fate, he, and his children. When, by a like decree, the care of the state was committed to C. Marius and L. Valerius the consuls, did not L. Saturninus, tribune of the people, and C. Servilius, praetor, fall an immediate sacrifice to the justice of their country, without the intervention of a single day?

But

But we, for the space of twenty days, have suffered the senate's authority to lose its edge in our hands. For we too have a like decree, but it rests amongst the archives like a weapon in its sheath; a decree, Catiline, by which thou art justly doomed to immediate death. Yet still thou livest, and livest not to lay aside thy audacious guilt, but to harden thyself in it.

Mercy, conscript fathers, is what I am heartily disposed to; I am likewise disposed, whilst such terrible danger threatens my country, not to appear remiss in its cause, yet now my conscience condemns me for my inactivity and negligence. An army against the republick is already incamped in Italy, upon the borders of Etruria: the enemy's numbers daily increase; their leader we behold within our walls, nay, amidst this assembly, plotting daily the ruin of the state. Should I order thee, Catiline, to be seized instantly, to be dragged to execution, none, I apprehend, would blame me for being too cruel, but rather, I am afraid, every worthy man for being too slow. Yet this very thing, which should long since have been done, I have certain reasons for postponing still. Thou shalt then be put to death, when not a man is to be found so wicked, so desperate, so like thyself, who will deny it to be done justly. While there is one who dares to defend thee, thou shalt live, and live so as thou now dost, beset with numerous and powerful guards, which I have placed about thee, so as not to suffer thee to stir a foot against the republick; whilst the eyes and ears of many shall watch thy motions, as they have hitherto done, though thou perceivest it not.

What is it, Catiline, thou canst now have in view, when neither the shades of night can conceal thy

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traiterous assemblies, nor thy domestic walls prevent the voice of thy treason from being heard? If all thy counsels are detected, all thy measures exposed to full view; take my advice, and relinquish thy black purposes, drop the thoughts of fires and massacres: thou art beset on all hands, all thy proceedings are clearer than the day; as will appear if you attend to the detail I am now to give.

Thou mayst remember, what I said in the senate, on the kalends of November, that on the fourth day following, Caius Manlius, the creature and associate of thy guilt, would appear in arms. Was I deceived, Catiline, in foretelling not only so enormous, so detestable, so incredible an attempt, but, what is still more surprizing, the very day on which it was to be made? I likewise declared in the senate, that thou hadst fixed the massacre of the chief men of Rome for the twenty-sixth of the same month; a time, when many Romans of high rank left Rome, not so much for their own safety, as for the sake of baffling thy traiterous designs. Canst thou deny, that, on that very day, thou wast so beset by my vigilance, and by guards of my placing, that it was altogether out of thy power to make the least attempt against the state; when thou hadst given out, that, tho' the rest had made their escape, thou wouldst content thyself with the blood of those who remained? Nay, when thou hadst confidently flattered thyself with surprizing Præneste by night, on the kalends of November; didst thou not perceive that colony to be secured by my garrisons, by my orders, and by my vigilance? Thou dost nothing, thou attemptest nothing, thou meditatest nothing, but what I hear, see, and plainly perceive.

Turn back thy eyes, together with me, upon the transactions of last night, and thou wilt see,
that

that I am more vigilant for the preservation, than thou art for the destruction of the state. Last night then, I say, thou didst meet thy associates in the same guilt and frenzy, at the house (I speak it openly) of M. Lecca, in the street called the Reapers. Darest thou deny this? why art thou silent? If thou disownest it, I will prove it; for I see some in this very assembly, who accompanied thee.

Immortal powers! what country do we inhabit? what government are we subject to? what city do we live in? Here, here, conscript fathers, within these very walls, and in this assembly (an assembly, the most awful and venerable upon earth) there are persons who are plotting my ruin and yours, who are meditating the destruction of the state, and, consequently, of the world itself. These men I see; see them, whilst I am invested with consular authority, and ask their opinions concerning the public; and, instead of dooming them to execution, as I ought to have done, I do not as yet wound their characters.

That night then, Catiline, thou heldest a meeting at the house of Lecca; didst canton out all Italy; didst assign every one his station; didst single out such as were to be left at Rome, and such as were to accompany thee; didst mark out those parts of the city that were to be set on fire; didst declare thy fixed purpose to leave it soon; adding, that my being still alive, occasioned a short delay: Two Roman knights immediately undertook to deliver thee from that uneasiness, and promised to assassinate me in my bed before the day should dawn. All this I learnt, almost before the assembly was broke up: I strengthened my house with an additional guard; I caused admittance to be refused to those who came to compliment me in

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the morning ; and they were the very persons, who, I had foretold to many worthy men, would come at that very time.

This then, Catiline, being the situation of thy affairs, execute thy purpose ; leave the city ; her gates stand open ; march forth. Thy forces, in the camp of Manlius, are impatient for their leader : take with thee all thy confederates, if not all, at least as many as possible ; and thus purge the city. Then shall I be delivered from terrible fears, when our walls have once separated between me and thee : here thou canst no longer stay ; 'tis what I will never allow, never bear, never endure.

Great thanks are surely due to the immortal gods ; and, above all, to Jupiter Stator, the most ancient guardian of our city, for having so often saved us from this dreadful, this detestable, this pestilent scourge of his country. Certainly the safety of the state is not again and again to be exposed to hazard for the sake of one of its members.

Whilst consul elect, Catiline, I guarded against the snares that were laid by thee for my life, by my own private vigilance, without any assistance from the public. During the last election of consuls, when thou didst endeavour to assassinate me, and thy competitors, in the field of Mars, I baffled thy bloody attempt, by the aid of my friends alone, without disturbing the publick peace : in a word, as often as thou hast assaulted me, I have opposed thee singly ; though I plainly saw, that my death was inseparably connected with the utter ruin of the public. Thou dost now openly attack the whole state ; the temples of the immortal gods ; all the dwellings in Rome, together with the lives of
her

her citizens ; and even doomest all Italy to slaughter and desolation.

Since I dare not, therefore, pursue such measures on this occasion, as are agreeable to primitive discipline, and the genius of our state ; I will have recourse to an expedient more conducive to the publick good, tho' less severe to the criminal. For should I pronounce sentence of death upon thee, thy band of associates will still continue in the state ; but if thou leavest the city, as I have often exhorted thee to do, that baneful sink of thy guilty accomplices will be drained from it.

What Catiline? dost thou hesitate to do at my command, what thou wast ready to do of thy own accord ? The consul orders an enemy to depart from the city. Into banishment then, dost thou ask ? I do not order it, but if my opinion is desired, I advise it.

What is there, Catiline, that can give thee pleasure in this city, where, if I except thy own abandoned train of profligates, there is not a man to be found who does not fear, not one who does not abhor thee ? What new domestic stain can be added to sully thy character ? what personal reproach art thou not branded with ? what scenes of lewdness have not thy eyes beheld ? what crime can be named which thy hands have not perpetrated ? what foul abomination is there, wherewith thou hast not defiled thyself ? Among all the numerous youth entangled by thee, in the snares of debauchery, is there one, whom thou hast not armed for the most audacious efforts of bloody violence ? one whom thou hast not prompted to lust and sensuality ?

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But what do I say ? even lately, when, by procuring the death of thy former wife, thou hadst made room in thy house for another, didst thou not aggravate even that crime by another more shocking and unparalleled ? But this I draw a veil over, and willingly leave it to rest in silence ; that the memory of so horrible a crime may be lost, or, at least, of its having been committed with impunity. I likewise omit mentioning the utter loss of thy fortune, which, thou art sensible, must befall thee the very next month, and proceed to such things as bear no relation to thy personal infamy, to thy private reproach and distressful circumstances ; but such as concern the very being of the state, together with the lives and safety of us all.

Can the light of the day, Catiline, or the vital air thou breathest, afford thee any pleasure ? when thou art conscious there is not one present but knows, that, on the last of December, during the consulship of Lepidus and Tullus, thou didst appear in the Comitium, armed with a dagger ; that thou hadst got together a band of ruffians, to assassinate the consuls, and the greatest men in Rome ; and that this frantic and traiterous attempt was disappointed by no awe, by no remorse in thee, but by the good fortune of the Roman state.

But I pass over these things, they are but too well known ; others there are of a later date. How often didst thou attempt to murder me, when I was consul elect ? how often hast thou attempted it, since I have been raised to the consulate ? How many thrusts of thine have I escaped, by gently slipping aside a little, even when they were so well aimed as to seem inevitable ? There is nothing thou dost, nothing thou designest, nothing thou contrivest,

vest, but what I have timely notice of ; yet thou art continually plotting, continually making efforts. How often has that dagger of thine been wrested from thine hands ? how often has it dropt by accident to the ground ? yet thou canst not be without it. I cannot conceive, by what rites thou hast consecrated and devoted it, that thou thinkest thyself obliged to lodge it in the consul's breast.

What now is thy situation ? for I will here speak to thee, not in the spirit of hatred, for which I have so just cause, but in that of compassion, which thou so ill deservest. Upon thy coming into the senate a little while ago, who of all this full assembly, who of all thy numerous friends and relations, offered to salute thee ? If there is no instance on record of such treatment shewn to any man before, dost thou next expect open reproach, after having received thy doom from such awful silence ? didst thou not see all the benches left empty at thy approach ? didst thou not observe, that all those of consular dignity, whom thou hadst so often marked out for slaughter, forsook their seats, upon thy taking thine, and left that whole quarter solitary ?

How canst thou bear with all this ? As for me, I declare, that did my slaves dread me, as all thy fellow citizens do thee, I should think it most expedient to leave my house ; and dost thou think that thou shouldst not leave the city ? Or, if I saw myself equally exposed to the distrust and abhorrence of my countrymen, tho' without just grounds ; I would rather chuse to withdraw from their sight, than be looked at by all with eyes full of hatred and revenge : and dost thou, who art conscious to thyself, of having long deserved the detestation of all men, hesitate a moment to fly from the looks and company of a people, whose minds, whose eyes are shocked with the
sight

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fight of thee? should thy natural parents dread thee, and bear thee irreconcilable hatred, thou wouldst, I imagine, retire from their presence; but now thy country, the common parent of us all, hates and dreads thee; and has long looked upon thee as a parricide, meditating nothing but her final destruction: and wilt thou neither revere her authority, submit to her judgment, nor stand in awe of her power? This parent, Catiline, seems thus to reason with thee:

‘Not an enormity has happened, for these many years, but what has had thee for its author; not a crime, but what has been committed by thee. Thou alone hast murdered so many of our citizens; thou alone hast plundered and oppressed our allies, with impunity, and unrestrained violence; thou alone hast found means not only to trample upon law and justice, but even utterly to subvert them. These past enormities, tho’ beyond all bearing, have I yet borne with in the best manner I could; but now, to live in continual dread of thee alone; upon every alarm, to have Catiline for the object of publick terror; that no scheme can be formed against me, how black, how villainous soever, thy wicked heart would not engage in, is quite intolerable. Be gone then; deliver me from my apprehensions; that, if they are just, I may avoid ruin; if groundless, I may, for once, lay aside my fears.’

Should thy country thus accost thee, ought she not to prevail with thee, tho’ she could not force thee? But why do I talk of prevailing with thee? dost thou not offer thyself to be kept in custody? didst thou not declare, that, to avoid suspicion, thou wouldst live confined in the house of Lepidus? Upon his refusing to receive thee, thou hadst impudence

prudence enough to intreat me to secure thee at my house ; when I made answer, that I could by no means live safely in the same house with thee, when I was in so great danger from being in the same city with thee, thou didst then apply to Q. Metellus, the prætor ; upon his refusing to comply with thy request, application was made by thee to thy companion M. Marcellus, that worthy person, one who, without doubt, thou didst imagine would confine thee very carefully, be very sagacious in discovering all thy schemes, and resolute in bringing thee to justice. Now how far should that man be from chains and a prison, who has already owned that he deserves to be kept in custody ?

If so then, Catiline, if thou canst not reconcile thyself to the thoughts of dying here, dost thou hesitate to retire into some other country, there to spend, in exile and solitude, the remainder of a life, so often and so justly forfeited to thy country's justice ? But, sayst thou, put the question to the senate. This thou desirest, and declarest thy readiness to obey, if thou art ordered into banishment. I will put no such question, it is contrary to my temper : yet I will let thee see the sentiments of this assembly concerning thee : ' Leave this city, Catiline, ' deliver the commonwealth from her fears ; go, if ' thou wilt have me say it, into banishment.' What thinkest thou now, Catiline ? dost thou observe their behaviour ? dost thou mark their silence ? They hear me patiently, they say nothing : why dost thou expect an explicit declaration of their sentiments, when thou perceivest them by their silence ?

Had I spoke this to that worthy youth P. Sextius, or to the brave M. Marcellus, the senate would have risen up against me, and laid violent hands upon their consul, in this very temple ; and justly too.
But

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But when I say it to thee, Catiline, by their silence they approve it; by their suffering it, they decree it; by saying nothing, they proclaim their consent. Nor is it thus with the senators alone, whose authority thou affectest to regard, whilst thou makest no account of their lives, but with the brave and worthy Roman knights, and other gallant citizens, who now guard the avenues of the senate; whose numbers thou mightest just now have seen, whose affection for the state thou mightest have observed, whose acclamations thou mightest have heard; and whom I have long, with difficulty, restrained from doing thee violence. Yet with all these will I easily prevail to attend thee quietly to the gates, shouldst thou consent to leave this city, which thou hast so long destined to desolation.

But why do I talk? Is it to be expected, that thou shouldst alter thy purpose? that thou shouldst ever reform? that thou shouldst meditate any flight? that thou shouldst entertain a thought of banishment? May the immortal gods inspire thee with such a resolution! Tho' I am sensible, should my words frighten thee into banishment, what a storm of party rage I shall draw upon myself, if not at present, whilst the memory of thy guilt is fresh, yet, surely in future times. This, however, I can submit to, provided the calamity falls upon myself alone, without extending to my country. But to be moved with a sense of thy crimes; to be awed by the rigour of the laws; to yield to the exigencies of the state, are things not to be required of thee: for thou art not such a person, Catiline, as to be reclaimed by shame from dishonourable pursuits, or by fear from danger, or by reason from madness.

As I have already often said, then, be gone: and if thou wouldst load me, whom thou givest out
to

to be thy enemy, with popular odium, go streight into banishment; if thou doest this, I shall scarce be able to bear up against the censures that will be passed upon me; scarce sustain the weight of publick indignation, if, at the consul's command, thou shouldst retire into exile. But if thou wouldst raise the glory of my name, march off with thy abandoned crew; go to Manlius? rouse every desperate Roman to rebel; separate thyself from the virtuous; make war upon thy country; exult and riot in thy impious depredations; thus will it appear, that thou was not cast out by me to foreigners, but invited out to thy friends.

But why do I incite thee to this, when I know that thou hast sent forward a body of armed men to wait thy coming at the Forum Aurelium? when I know the day of meeting is agreed upon, between thee and Manlius; when I know, that thou hast sent off that silver eagle, to which thou hast erected altars in thy house, where to consecrate thy crying enormities, and which I trust will prove fatal to thee and thine. Canst thou be so long without this divinity of thine, to which thou was wont to address thy homage, before thou didst enter upon any bloody enterprize; and after employing thy impious hands in the worship of which thou hast often dyed them in the blood of thy fellow-citizens?

Thus at length wilt thou go whither thy frantick and impetuous rage hath been long hurrying thee; a consideration, which, instead of filling thee with anguish, gives thee exquisite delight. For such desperate undertakings nature hath formed thee, thy inclination trained thee, and thy fate reserved thee. Quiet was never thy delight, no, nor war, unless unjust and destructive: the forces thou hast raised

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raised are composed of abandoned wretches, not only without fortune, but without hope. Amongst these what joys must thou taste! what transports must fill thy mind! in what pleasures must thou revel! when in so great a multitude, all devoted to thy service, thou wilt neither see the face, nor hear the voice of an honest man. To qualify thee for the enjoyment of such a life, thou hast undergone the toils which commonly go by thy name, such as lying upon the ground, not only in pursuit of lewd amours, but of hardy enterprizes; such as thy vigilance too, not only to injure the sleeping husband, but to spoil the secure citizen. Thou hast now an opportunity of exerting all that boasted patience of hunger, cold and want, by which thou wilt soon find thyself undone. So much did I gain by disappointing thee of the consulship, that the state should be exposed not to thy tyranny as a consul, but to thy vain efforts as an exile: and that thy impious undertaking might be called not so much a war, as the attempt of a robber.

Now, conscript fathers, that I may obviate a complaint which my country might, with too great appearance of justice, raise against me, attend carefully, I beseech you, and treasure up diligently in your minds, what I am going to advance. For were my country, that country which is far dearer to me than my life, were all Italy, were the whole state thus to accost me; 'Marcus Tullius, what art thou doing? wilt thou suffer him to escape from the city, whom thou hast found to be a publick enemy? whom thou seest ready to conduct the war against the state? whom thou knowest our enemy expects in the camp as their leader in chief? The author of this black and villainous enterprize? the chief of the conspiracy? the guilty wretch who enlists every abandoned citizen and slave? wilt

thou

' thou suffer him to escape, that he may not seem so
 ' much to be driven by thee from the city, as sent
 ' against it ? wilt thou not order him to be loaded
 ' with chains, not doom him to immediate death,
 ' not subject him to the most rigorous punishment ?
 ' What is it that restrains thee ? Is it the custom of
 ' our ancestors, when it is well known, that private
 ' persons have often in this state put pestilent citizens
 ' to death ? Is it the law concerning the punishment
 ' of Roman citizens ; when in Rome, those who have
 ' proved traitors to the state, have always forfeited
 ' the rights of citizens ? Art thou afraid of the re-
 ' proaches of posterity ? a noble proof, indeed, of
 ' thy gratitude to the Roman people, for having
 ' raised thee, a new man, without any recommen-
 ' dation from thy ancestors, through all the degrees
 ' of honour to sovereign dignity ; if, from fear of
 ' reproach or any danger whatever, thou neglectest
 ' the care of the public safety. But if censure be
 ' what thou darest, which is most to be apprehen-
 ' ded, the censure incurred for having acted with
 ' justice and resolution, or that for having acted with
 ' injustice and pusillanimity ? when Italy shall be
 ' ravaged by war, her cities oppressed, her dwellings
 ' on fire, dost thou imagine that the flames of pub-
 ' lick indignation will not devour thee ?'

To this most sacred voice of my country, and to
 all those who entertain the same sentiments, I shall
 make a short reply : Had I thought it most advise-
 able, conscript fathers, to put Catiline to death,
 I would not have allowed that gladiator the use of
 one moment's life. For if, in former times, the
 most illustrious citizens, instead of sullyng, did ho-
 nour to their memories, by shedding the blood of
 Saturninus, Flaccus, the two Gracchi, and many
 others ; surely I had no reason to fear lying under
 the reproach of posterity, for killing this parricide.

Yet

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Yet if the greatest was sure to befall me, it has always been my persuasion, that reproach acquired by virtue, was really glory, not reproach.

But some there are of this very order, who do not either see the dangers that threaten us, or dissemble what they see ; who by their soft and timorous conduct have cherished Catiline's hopes, and strengthened the conspiracy by not believing it : by their authority many are influenced, both of the wicked and of the weak, who, if I had put this man to death, would not have failed to charge me with cruelty and tyranny. Now I am convinced, that when he is once gone to Manlius's camp whither he is bent, none can be so stupid as not to see there is a conspiracy, none so wicked as not to acknowledge it : whereas by the execution of him alone, though this pestilence might be somewhat checked, it could not be crushed. But should he throw himself into rebellion, should he carry his friends along with him, and draw together the desperate and abandoned from every quarter, not only this ripened plague of the state, but the very roots, the very seeds of all our misfortunes, will be extirpated.

We have long, conscript fathers, been exposed to the danger and dark measures of this conspiracy ; though by what means I know not ; madness and insolence, with every other species of guilt, have broke out, in their full maturity, during my consulship. Now if from so powerful a confederacy of robbers this one only were removed, we should perhaps be delivered for a while from our uneasiness and dread ; but still our danger would remain, and continue lurking in the very veins and vitals of the commonwealth. For as persons in a violent fever are at first seemingly relieved

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relieved from its raging heat by a draught of cold water, but afterwards more grievously tormented; so the present disorder of the state, tho' it may be somewhat abated by the punishment of this traitor, will yet rage with redoubled force, as his associates are left alive.

Let the wicked withdraw then, conscript fathers; let them separate themselves from the virtuous; let them assemble in one place; in a word, as I have often said, let the walls of Rome be between us and them. Let them no longer lay snares for the consul in his own house; no longer beset the tribunal of the city prætor; no longer surround the senate with armed men, nor prepare combustibles for firing the city; in short, let the sentiments of every citizen concerning the state appear in his face. With these omens, Catiline, of all prosperity to the commonwealth, but of destruction to thyself, and all the associates of thy black treason, be gone to that impious, that execrable war. Then, O Jupiter, thou, whose worship was established with the foundation of this city, thou, whom we truly call the prop and stay of our city and empire, wilt drive this parricide and his associates from thy altars and temples, from the houses and walls of Rome, from the lives and fortunes of all our citizens; and wilt destroy, with eternal punishments, both living and dead, all the foes of the virtuous, the enemies of their country, the plunderers of Italy, now linked together in this detestable league and partnership of guilt.

*See Letter
here omitted*

THE SECOND
ORATION
AGAINST
CATILINE.

Address'd to the PEOPLE.

AT length, Romans, we have rid ourselves of Catiline ; we have driven him away, raging with desperate designs, breathing guilt and vengeance, meditating the ruin of his country, and threatening you and your city with massacre and flames ; at least we have sent him from Rome, or hastened his departure, and that by words only. He is gone ; he has made his escape ; he has rushed away. No longer shall this monster, this prodigy of guilt, plot the destruction of the city within her walls. We have doubtless conquered this ringleader of domestic broils ; nor shall we now be daily exposed to his bloody dagger, with which he pursued us to the field of election, the forum, the senate, and even to our very houses. In driving him from Rome, we have forced him from his post ; and shall now, having no obstacle in our way, treat him as an open enemy. We certainly ruined the man, and gloriously defeated him, when we forced him from his treasonable secret machinations into open rebellion.

What bitter anguish do ye think must have overwhelmed his mind, that he went away without murdering

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dering the consul ; that we wrested his sword from him, before he dyed it in our blood ; that he left the city standing, and the citizens undestroyed ? Now, Romans, he lies prostrate ; now he perceives all his enterprizes and hopes confounded ; and often, no doubt, casts back his eyes to this city, bewailing that she is snatched from his destructive jaws : whilst she appears to exult, that she has disgorge, and flung out, so pestilent a citizen.

But if there be any here, who blame me for what I am now boasting of, as indeed you all justly may, that I did not rather apprehend, than send away so formidable an enemy : know, Romans, this is not my fault, but that of the times. Catiline ought long since to have suffered the last punishment ; the custom of our ancestors, the discipline of the empire, and the interests of our country, required it. But how many do ye think there are, who would not have believed what I charged him with ? how many, who through weakness would never have imagined it ? how many, who would even have defended him ? how many, who, through wickedness, would have espoused his cause ?

Had I, indeed, thought, that by dooming him to death, I could have delivered you from the dangers that threatned you, I should certainly have long since ordered him to execution, at the hazard, not only of popular censure, but even of my life. But when I saw, that, if I had sentenced him to death, as all of you at least were not convinced of his guilt, I should have drawn upon myself such an odium, as would have disabled me from prosecuting his accomplices ; I brought the matter to this point, that, when you saw Catiline a declared enemy, ye might openly attack him. How formidable

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midable an enemy I look upon him abroad, you may judge from this, my countrymen, that I am forry he left the city with so few attendants. I wish he had taken his whole force along with him; he has carried off Tongillus indeed, the object of his unnatural passion, when a boy, together with Publicius and Munatius, men whose tavern debts would never have occasioned any commotions in the state; but what men hath he left behind him! how oppressed with debts! how powerful! how illustrious!

Having, therefore, such an army, consisting of our Gallic legions, and the levies which Metellus has made in the territory of Picenum, together with the troops that are daily raised by us, I look upon all his forces as contemptible; made up of desperate old men; of debauchees from the country; of clownish vagabonds; of such as would forfeit their bails rather than leave the army; men who would run away, not only at the sight of an army, but of the prætor's edict. I wish he had carried along with him those perfumed persons, who saunter about the forum; who frequent the court before the senate, shining in their purple, and who even take their place in the senate. If these remain, attend to what I say; they, who live as deserters from the army, are more to be dreaded than the army itself. And what renders them still more formidable, is, that though they are sensible I know all their schemes, yet they are not moved. I can point out the person to whom Apulia is allotted, to whom Etruria, to whom the territory of Picenum, to whom the neighbouring district of Gaul. I behold the men, who desired to be employed in setting fire to Rome, and putting her citizens to the sword. They know that I am acquainted with all their counsels of the night before
last;

last ; I laid them all open yesterday in the senate : upon which Catiline was so disheartened that he fled. Why then do these others tarry ? If they imagine that I shall always use the same lenity, they are grievously deceived.

I have gained the point I had in view ; namely, to convince you all fully, that a conspiracy is formed against the state : unless there be any who imagine, that such as resemble Catiline, enter not into Catiline's designs. There is no room now for gentle measures ; our situation calls for rigorous ones : yet one thing I will still grant them ; let them quit the city, let them follow Catiline, and not suffer him to languish in their absence. Nay, I will tell them the way ; he has taken the Aurelian road : if they make haste, they will overtake him before night.

Oh happy state, when once she is drained of this sink of wickedness ! truly to me she seems already to have resumed beauty and vigour by the removal of Catiline alone. Indeed, what crime, what enormity can be conceived, that hath not entered into his thoughts ? what prisoner can be found throughout all Italy, what gladiator, what robber, what assassin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what cheat, what riotous wretch, what adulterer, what harlot, what corrupter of youth, what one debauched youth, what one abandoned criminal, who will not own an intimate familiarity with Catiline ? What one murder has been committed for these many years without him ? What one act of lewdness but by him ? Had ever any man such talents for seducing youth as he, who indulged himself in an infamous passion for some, and prostituted himself unnaturally to others ? To many he promised the full enjoyment of their pleasures, to many the

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death of their parents, not only prompting them to shed their blood, but assisting them in doing it. At present what a vast number of desperate and profligate wretches has he got together, not only from the city, but the country! There is not a person oppressed with debts in Rome, or the remotest corner of Italy, whom he has not engaged in this detestable confederacy.

And that you may be sensible of what different talents he is possessed, there is not a gladiator, in any of our publick schools, remarkable for being audacious in mischief, who does not acknowledge an intimacy with Catiline; not a stage player of distinguished impudence and guilt, who does not openly declare his close friendship with him. Yet this man, inured to lewdness and villainy, has been celebrated by these his associates, as a person brave and hardy; capable of enduring cold, hunger, thirst, and watching; while he was wasting in debauchery and wicked pursuits, his natural qualifications for virtuous industry.

Would his companions but follow him, would this desperate, abandoned crew but leave the city, how happy should we be! how fortunate the state! how glorious my consulship! Men now set no bounds to their lawless passions; their crimes are more than human, and quite intolerable. They think of nothing but murders, flames, and rapine. They have lavished their estates, they have squandered their money; first their substance failed them; and now their credit; yet still the same wasteful and voluptuous spirit possesses them. Did they only indulge themselves in lewdness and voluptuous feasting, amidst their revels and gaming, tho' then their case would indeed be desperate, yet still they might be borne with. But it is quite insufferable, that
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the dastardly should plot against the brave ; the foolish against the prudent ; the drunken against the sober ; the drousy against the vigilant ; that lolling at feasts, caressing mistresses, staggering with wine, surfeited by gluttony, decked with garlands, daubed with perfumes, and weakened with impure pleasures, they should belch in their conversations of maffacing every worthy citizen, and firing the city.

Over such, I trust, some terrible fate is now hanging ; and that the vengeance so long due to their villainy, their wickedness, their lusts, is actually breaking upon their guilty heads, or just ready to break. If my consulship, since it cannot cure, should exterminate these men, it would save the state not for a short period, but a length of ages. For there is no nation whom we need to dread, no king that can make war upon the Roman people. All disturbances abroad, both by sea and land, are quelled through the courage of one man : but intestine commotions still remain ; the treason, the danger, the enemy is within. We are to combat with luxury, with madness, with villainy. In this war, citizens, I profess myself your leader ; I cheerfully take upon me all the animosity of the desperate : whatever can be healed, I will employ any means to heal ; but what must be cut off, I will never suffer to spread to the ruin of the state. Let them depart then, or be at rest ; but if they will neither be gone nor reform, let them look for the punishment they deserve.

Some there are, Romans, I know, who affirm that Catiline was driven by me into exile. Could words effect it, I should drive those who say so into exile too. So timorous, and very modest was Catiline, no doubt, that he could not resist the consul's voice ; but, the moment he was ordered into banishment,

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nishment, he obeyed, and departed. Yesterday, after I had narrowly escaped being murdered in my own house, I assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and laid the whole conspiracy before them. When Catiline entered, was he spoke to, was he saluted by any one senator? Which of them all looked upon him as a desperate citizen, and not rather as an implacable enemy? nay, those of greatest eminence in that order left that part of the benches, to which he approached, naked and empty.

Here, I, that violent consul, whose word alone is sufficient to drive citizens into banishment, asked Catiline, whether he had or had not been at the meeting, held the preceding night, at the house of M. Lecca? Hardened as he is in impudence, he answered nothing, being struck with the consciousness of his own guilt: upon which, I laid open the whole; the transactions of that night, where he had been, what was reserved for the next, and how the war in all its parts was to be conducted. Seeing him embarrassed and speechless, I asked, what hindered a departure, which he had so long meditated; when, to my knowledge, he had sent before him arms, rods, and axes, trumpets, military ensigns, and that silver eagle, to which he had raised sacrilegious altars in his own house. Did I force this man into banishment, whom I already saw engaged in hostilities? Probably indeed, that Manlius, a petty centurion, who has encamped in the territory of Fesulæ, has declared war against the Roman people in his own name; that the forces under him do not expect Catiline for their general; and that he, driven into exile, will retire into Marseilles, without entering that camp.

O wretched condition, not only of governing, but of preserving the state! If Catiline, entangled
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and baffled by my pains and counsels, should be seized with sudden dread, alter his purpose, abandon his faction, drop his scheme of war, and, deserting his guilty pursuits, retire into banishment; he will be said not to be disarmed by me; not to be confounded and dismayed by my vigilance; or driven from all his schemes and hopes; but cast into banishment, by the threats and violence of the consul, innocent and uncondemned: should he take this course, there will be numbers, who will think him not wicked, but unhappy; and me, not a diligent consul, but a cruel tyrant. But I little regard all this storm of groundless and bitter reproach, Romans, if I can only rescue you from the calamity of so dreadful and detestable a war. Be it reported, that I drove him hence, so he but goes into banishment; but believe me, he will not go. I shall never pray to the immortal gods, that, in order to free me from popular censure, you may hear that Catiline is at the head of an army, advancing furiously against you: yet this you will hear within three days; and what I dread most, is, that the time may come, when I shall be reproached, not for forcing, but suffering him, to depart. But if some affirm that he was driven away, what would they have said if he had been put to death?

The truth is, those who give out that Catiline is gone to Marseilles, do not so much believe it, as they are afraid of it: and with all the compassion they affect for him, there is not one of them, but had rather see him with Manlius, than at Marseilles. But indeed, had he never intended what he now pursues, such is his spirit, that he would rather be slain as a robber, than live as an exile. As matters now are, since nothing has happened contrary to his desire and expectation, only that we are left

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left alive ; let us rather wish that he may go into banishment, than complain that he is gone.

But why do I spend so many words upon one enemy ? an enemy too, who acknowledges himself as such ; one, whom I no longer fear, now that a wall separates us, which I have often wished for. Shall I say nothing concerning those who dissemble their enmity ; who continue at Rome, and mix in our assemblies ; whose punishment indeed I do not so much aim at, as, were it possible to bring it about, their cure, and reconciliation to the state ? nor do I see why it should not, would they but hearken to me. I shall therefore, first, shew you, citizens, what different sorts of men their forces consist of ; and then endeavour to cure each, as far as reasoning and persuasion will do it.

The first class consists of those who have great debts, but greater possessions ; which they are so passionately fond of, that they will on no account diminish them. This class, as being rich, makes a more honourable appearance than the rest ; but their conduct and disposition is the most infamous of all. Hast thou a large estate, many houses, much money, numerous attendants, all the elegances of life, and the greatest affluence of every thing ? and yet dost thou grudge to take from thy wealth, that thou mayst add to thy credit ? what dost thou expect ? is it war ? and dost thou imagine that thy possessions will be unviolated amidst universal desolation ? dost thou expect new regulations about debts ? They are much mistaken who look for such from Catiline. New regulations shall be made by my interest, but limited ones, and attended with publick auctions ; which is the only method of preserving those who have estates from ruin ; and had they consented to this sooner, nor foolishly run out their estates in mortgages,

mortgages, they had at this day been richer and better citizens. This class, however, I am far from thinking formidable ; for it is possible they may alter their sentiments, or if they continue in them, I am of opinion that they will rather attack the state with imprecations, than with arms.

A second sort consists of those, who, tho' overwhelmed with debts, yet want to sway the state, and aspire after publick dignities ; they imagine they shall be able to obtain those honours, when the commonwealth is thrown into confusion and disorder, which they despair of arriving at during its tranquillity. To these the same advice must be given as to the rest, which is, to despair of obtaining what they labour after ; in the first place, because I myself am vigilant, and ever attending to the interests of the state : then there is in Rome a vast number of worthy citizens, all resolute, and firmly united : besides this, we have numerous forces ; and, finally, the immortal gods will not fail to interpose in behalf of this invincible people, this renowned empire, this flourishing city, against so black and daring an attempt. But should these men obtain what they pursue with such frantic fury, do they hope to find their impious and inhuman wishes accomplished, and to see themselves spring up consuls, dictators, or kings, from the ruins of the city, and the blood of her citizens ? don't they perceive, that if they should attain what they so earnestly wish for, they must resign it to some fugitive or gladiator ?

A third class is composed of men advanced in age, but vigorous and trained up to labour : such is Manlius, who is now succeeded by Catiline. These are of the colonies planted by Sylla at Fesulæ, all of which I believe consisted of the best citizens, and bravest men : but they are such members of those

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colonies, as coming, all of a sudden, into the possession of unexpected wealth, gave themselves up to all manner of vanity and extravagance ; men, who by building fine houses, and rioting in the pomp of splendid equipages, numerous slaves, and magnificent entertainments, have contracted such vast debts, that in order to discharge them, they must recal Sylla from the shades of death. They have likewise, by the hopes of seeing the late course of rapine renewed, gained over some wretched and needy rustics to their party. Both these, citizens, I reckon under the same class of thieves and plunderers. This advice, however, I will give them, to drop their outrageous pursuits, and lay aside all thoughts of proscriptions and dictatorships. For the cruelties of these times have given so deep a wound to the state, that not only men, but even the beasts of the field, in my opinion, would not bear to see them repeated.

The fourth is a various, mixt, and mutinous tribe, composed of persons, who have been long undone, and can never recover ; who, partly through indolence, partly through mismanagement, and partly too through extravagance, are oppressed with a load of old debts ; men, who being worried with judicial decrees, arrests, and confiscations of their estates, are said to resort in great numbers, both from town and country, to the enemy's camp. These I look upon not as brave soldiers, but weak fugitives. Such persons, if they cannot support themselves, let them fall ; but in such a manner, that neither the state, nor even their nearest neighbours may feel it. For if they cannot live with honour, I cannot conceive why they should choose to die with infamy : or why they should fancy it less painful to die with company, than to perish by themselves.

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The fifth class consists of parricides, assassins, and criminals of every denomination. These I do not press to leave Catiline ; for besides that nothing can separate them, it is proper they should perish in their robberies ; since they are too numerous to be confined in our prisons.

The last class, not only in my list, but even in character and conduct, are Catiline's peculiar favourites ; persons of his own chusing ; his bosom friends ; such as you see with curled locks ; some beardless ; others with beards nicely trimmed ; all arrayed in long flowing robes, in veils, not gowns ; persons, whose labours and vigilance are only to be seen at midnight banquets.

To this tribe are joined all gamesters, adulterers, and the lewd of every denomination. These tender, delicate, and engaging youths, have been taught not only all the arts of intrigue ; how to dance and play ; but they have learned to wield the bloody dagger, and to administer poison with great dexterity. Now unless these depart, unless they perish, believe me, even though Catiline himself should fall, we shall still have a nursery of Catilines in the state. But what do these wretches mean ? do they intend to carry their harlots with them to the camp ? Indeed how can they be without them these cold winter nights ? But how will they endure the nipping frosts and snows of the Appennine mountains ? unless they imagine they can more easily bear the rigours of winter for having learned to dance naked in their nocturnal revels. O what a formidable war, when Catiline's prætorian band is made up of persons taken from the embraces of harlots !

Against

94 The Second O R A T I O N

Against these renounced troops of Catiline, draw up now, Romans, your garrisons and armies : and first oppose your consuls and generals to that old maimed gladiator ; then bring forth the strength and flower of all Italy to encounter his miserable, his outcast crew ; for the ramparts of our colonies, and municipal cities will be sufficient to oppose to his entrenchments on the Appennine mountains ; your other resources of strength, which render you so powerful and illustrious, it does not become me to compare with the weakness and indigence of that robber.

But not to mention the advantages which we enjoy, and of which he is destitute, namely, the senate, the knights, the city of Rome, the Roman people, the treasury, the publick revenues, all Italy, all the provinces, and foreign nations ; not to mention these, I say, if we only ballance the views and characters of the opposite parties, we shall soon see how low our enemies lie. On one side modesty contends against insolence on the other ; here is chastity, there is impurity ; here faith, there treachery ; here piety, there crimes ; here resolution, there rage ; here honour, there infamy ; here moderation, there unbridled passions ; in short, equity, temperance, fortitude, prudence, struggle with iniquity, luxury, cowardice, and rashness ; every virtue with every vice. Finally, the contest is between wealth and indigence, reason and madness, wisdom and folly ; between well grounded hopes and utter despair. In such a strife and conflict as this, even if human aid should fail, will not the immortal gods enable such illustrious virtue to triumph over such complicated vice ?

In such a situation, Romans, do you, as I have before advised you, watch and defend your private houses ; I have taken effectual measures for the security of the city, without occasioning any tumult or alarm. The colonies and municipal towns having received notice from me of Catiline's departure in the night, will be upon their guard against him. The gladiators, whom he depended upon as his strongest and most trusty band, though they are better affected than some of the patricians, shall be secured from moving. Q. Metellus, whom, upon my foreseeing what would happen, I sent before into Gaul and the district of Picenum, will either crush the parricide, or baffle all his motions and attempts. In order to settle, hasten, and execute all other matters, I am going to consult the senate, whom you now see assembling.

As for those who continue in the city, and were left by Catiline on purpose to destroy it and you all, tho' they are enemies, yet being citizens, I will again and again admonish them. The purpose of my lenity hitherto, which to some may seem to have been too great, was to wait for a full discovery of this secret conspiracy ; but now I can no longer forget that this is my country, that I am consul, and that I must either live with my countrymen or die for them. There is no guard upon the gates, no ambush upon the road ; if any have a mind to depart, they may go wherever they please : but if any make the least stir within the city, if I learn that they even conceive a design of raising a disturbance in the state, they shall feel that there are vigilant consuls in it, excellent magistrates, a resolute senate ; that there are arms, and a prison provided by our ancestors as the avenger of manifest crimes.

More-

96 The Second O R A T I O N

Moreover, all this, Romans, shall be transacted in such a manner, that the greatest disorders shall be quelled without the least disturbance ; the greatest dangers averted without any tumult ; a domestic war, the most cruel and desperate of any in our memory, shall be extinguished by me alone, without putting off my gown. All this will I manage so, citizens, that, if possible, no one guilty person in this city shall suffer punishment ; but if their daring insolence, and my country's danger should drive me from this gentle purpose ; yet I shall bring to pass, what in so cruel and treacherous a war could scarce be hoped for, that not one worthy citizen shall perish, but all of you be safe by the execution of a few.

These things, Romans, I promise, not from any confidence in my own prudence, or from any human counsels, but from the many clear declarations of the immortal gods, by whom I am inspired with this hope, and by whose impulse I am led into this determination ; who assist us, not as they were formerly wont, at a distance, against foreign and remote enemies, but by their present aid and protection, defend their own temples, and the dwellings of the city : It is your part, therefore, citizens, to offer up prayers, vows, and supplications to them, that, since all our enemies are subdued both by sea and land, they would defend this city, which they have designed to be the fairest, the most flourishing, and powerful of all others, from the execrable guilt of her own desperate and rebellious citizens.

T H E

THE THIRD
ORATION
AGAINST
CATILINE.

Addressed to the PEOPLE.

TO day, Romans, you behold your commonwealth, your lives, your estates and fortunes, your wives and children, this fair and flourishing city, the seat of this renowned empire, rescued from fire and sword, almost snatched from the jaws of fate, and preserved and restored, by the great love of the immortal gods towards you, and by means of my toils, dangers, and counsels. Now, if those days, wherein we are preserved from any threatening calamities, be no less joyful and memorable than the day of our birth; because the joy of our being preserved is certain, the condition to which we are born, uncertain; and because we are not sensible of our being born, but always feel joy at our being preserved: surely then, since our love and esteem for the founder of this great city made us rank him among the immortal gods, you and your posterity ought highly to honour that man, who hath preserved the same city with all its accessions of strength and beauty. When the flames surrounded your city, and were ready to devour your temples, your sanctuaries, your walls, and private houses, I extinguished them; I blunted the daggers that were drawn against the state; I turned aside the weapons that were pointed at your throats.

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After

After having laid open and explained all the particulars of this conspiracy before the senate, I will now, Romans, briefly satisfy your impatience to know, what terrible and evident destruction threatened you, and by what means it was traced out and discovered.

In the first place then, ever since Catiline fled from Rome, as he left behind him the associates of his treason, with the boldest champions of this execrable war, all my care and vigilance have been employed to secure you from so dark and desperate measures. When I drove Catiline out of Rome (for now I fear no reproach from that word ; all I have to fear is, that he was suffered to leave it alive) I was, indeed, in hopes, that, upon his expulsion, either the rest of his associates would go along with him, or that those who remained would be feeble and irresolute without him. But when I perceived that the most outrageous and bloody still continued with us, I employed my whole thoughts, night and day, to trace out all their schemes and proceedings ; that, since the enormity of the treason hindered you from giving credit to my words, I might place the whole matter in such a light, as to oblige you to take measures for your own safety, when your eyes beheld the danger that threatened you. Accordingly when I found, that the deputies of the Allobroges had been solicited by P. Lentulus to raise a war beyond the Alps, and commotions in those parts of Gaul ; that, in their way home, they were to have a conference with Catiline, for whom they had letters and instructions ; and that Volturcius was sent to attend them, who was likewise entrusted with letters to Catiline ; I thought a fair opportunity was now offered to me, not only of discovering the whole conspiracy myself, but of giving the senate,
and

and you the Roman people, the most entire satisfaction concerning it ; a matter of the greatest difficulty, and often the subject of my prayers to the immortal gods.

Yesterday, therefore, I sent for the two prætors, L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, men of great courage and zeal for the commonwealth : I discovered the matter to them, and gave them my orders. They, with a noble and generous ardor for the public good, readily undertook the affair ; and about the evening privately reached the Milvian bridge, disposing themselves in such a manner in the villages on each side the Tiber, that the bridge stood between them. They likewise carried along with them many brave men without the least suspicion ; and I, in order to strengthen them, dispatched from the precinct of Reate, a number of chosen youths well armed, whose assistance I always make use of upon public exigencies. In the mean time, about the end of the third watch, as the deputies of the Allobroges, with a great retinue, and accompanied by Volturcius, began to pass the bridge, an attack was made upon them, and swords were drawn on both sides. The prætors alone were trusted with the design, to all the rest it remained a secret. As soon as Pomptinus and Flaccus advanced, the conflict ended ; all the letters, that were found amongst the retinue of the deputies, were delivered to the prætors unopened ; and the deputies themselves were seized, and brought before me, towards the dawn of day. I immediately sent for Gabinius Cimber, that detestable artificer of their treason, before he could suspect how matters went ; L. Statilius was sent for next ; then Cethegus ; Lentulus came too, but long after the rest, having sat up late the night before, I presume, contrary to custom, in writing letters to his correspondents.

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Many of the greatest and most illustrious persons in the commonwealth, upon hearing what had past, came to me in the morning, and were of opinion that I should open the letters, before I communicated them to the senate, lest, if nothing of importance was found in them, I should be blamed for raising too precipitately, so terrible an alarm in the state. But this I refused to do: as the danger was public, I thought the whole affair should be laid before the public council. For though it should have appeared that I was misinformed, Romans, still I imagined, I had no reason to be afraid of being reproached for too great circumspection, when such danger threatened the state. I immediately summoned, as you saw, a full senate: and in the meantime, upon a hint given me by the Allobroges, I sent C. Sulpicius the prætor, a brave man, to bring what arms he could find in the house of Cethegus, from whence he accordingly brought a great number of swords and daggers.

I introduced Volturcius, without the Gauls, into the senate; and, by their order, plighted to him the publick faith, encouraging him not to be afraid, but to discover all he knew. He, scarce able to recover himself from his fright, declared, that he had letters and verbal instructions from Lentulus to Catiline, advising him to arm the slaves, and advance directly with his army to Rome, that, when they had set fire to every quarter of the city, according to the plan that was laid down, and made vast slaughter of the citizens, he might be at hand to cut off those who endeavoured to escape, and join his associates in the city.

The Gauls being introduced, declared, that an oath of fidelity had been plighted to them, and
letters

letters given by P. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, to be delivered to their state; together with instructions from the same three in conjunction with L. Cassius, to send a body of cavalry into Italy, as soon as possible, there being no scarcity of foot: that Lentulus had assured them from the Sibylline oracles, and the answers of the augurs, that he was the third of the Cornelian family who was destined to be sovereign of this city and empire: that Cinna and Sylla had been so already: and that he farther alledged, that this year would prove fatal to Rome and her empire, being the tenth from the acquittal of the vestal virgins, and the twentieth from the burning of the capitol. They likewise declared, that Lentulus and others chose to have the massacre, and firing of the city, executed on the Saturnalia, which Cethegus thought too late; and that this occasioned a contest between them.

To be as short as possible, Romans, I ordered the letters to be produced, according to the hands from whence they were said to come. First; I shewed Cethegus his own seal; he owned it: I cut the thread, and read the letter. It was written with his own hand, and contained assurances to the senate and people of the Allobroges, that he would fulfil what he had promised to their deputies; intreating them to perform what their deputies had promised in their name. Then Cethegus, who, a little before, in order to justify himself on account of the swords and daggers found in his possession, alledged that he had always been fond of fine arms, was, upon reading his letter, dispirited, confounded, self-convicted, and instantly struck dumb. Statilius being introduced next, owned his hand and seal; his letter, which was written almost in the same strain with the former, was read to him, and he confessed all. I then shewed Lentulus his

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letter,

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letter, and asked if he knew the seal: he did not deny it. It is indeed, said I, a well known seal; the head of thy grandfather, a Roman of distinguished merit, who heartily loved his country and fellow-citizens; a picture, the very sight of which ought to have restrained thee from so black a crime. Then was read his letter to the senate and people of the Allobroges, to the same purpose. I told him, if he had any thing to say in his own defence, that he was at liberty: at first he denied the whole; but soon after, the whole evidence being laid open, he rose up, and asked the Gauls, what business he had ever had with them? and on what account they had come to his house? the same question he likewise put to Volturcius. When they returned him a short and spirited answer, by whom they had been introduced, and how often they had been at his house, and asked him whether he had never talked to them about the Sibylline oracles? Then all on a sudden, struck with remorse, he gave a clear proof of the great power of conscience over the human mind. For, though he might have denied what they advanced, yet, to the great surprize of all, he confessed it: such was the force of convicted guilt, as to deprive him of all manner of assistance not only from his great abilities and eloquence, but even from his wicked heart and unparalleled impudence.

Now Volturcius of a sudden ordered the letter, which Lentulus had given him for Catiline, to be produced and read. This struck Lentulus with the greatest confusion; yet he confessed his hand and seal. It was wrote without any subscription, in the following stile: ‘Who I am you will learn from the bearer; consider your situation, and act like a man; reflect upon what your circumstances necessarily

‘ necessarily require, and seek assistance from all, even
‘ the meanest.’

Gabinus, who was next brought in, answered impudently at first, but at last denied nothing where-with he was charged by the Gauls. As for me, Romans, though I was fully persuaded of their guilt, by their letters, seals, hand-writing, and voluntary confession; yet I had still clearer proofs of it from their looks, their changing colour, their countenances, and their silence: so great indeed was their consternation, such their downcast eyes, and guilty glances, which they sometimes stole at one another, that they did not so much look like persons convicted by others, as detected by themselves.

When the evidence was thus laid open, and appeared clear and convincing, I applied to the senate, Romans, to know what resolutions they would take for the safety of the state. The most vigorous and resolute measures were proposed by the leading men, which were agreed to by the senate without any variation. And as their ordinance is not as yet registered, I shall lay before you, citizens (upon memory) what they then ordained, as well as I can recollect it. First of all, public thanks were decreed me in the strongest terms, for having delivered the state from the greatest dangers by my courage, counsels and foresight: then the prætors L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus had just and well merited praises bestowed upon them, for their faithful and vigorous execution of my orders. My brave colleague too was extolled for having removed, from his own and the public councils, all those who were concerned in the conspiracy. They then ordained that Lentulus, after abdicating the prætorship, should be delivered into safe custody; as likewise C. Cethe-

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gus, L. Statilius, and P. Gabinus, all three then present. The like sentence was passed upon L. Cassius, who had desired to be employed in firing the city ; upon M. Cæparius, to whom, as was proved, Apulia had been assigned for raising the shepherds ; upon P. Furius, a member of the colonies planted by Sylla at Fesulæ ; upon Q. Manlius Chilo, who was engaged with this Furius in making application to the Allobroges ; and upon P. Umbrenus, the son of a freed man, who was the first, as clearly appeared, that introduced the Gauls to Gabinus.

Such was the lenity, Romans, exercised by the senate, who judged that by punishing nine of the most desperate conspirators, out of so great a number of domestic enemies, they should be able to preserve the state, and reclaim all the rest. A public thanksgiving was likewise decreed in my name to the immortal gods, for their distinguishing favours to the commonwealth ; the first, Romans, that was ever decreed to any man in the gown since the foundation of Rome. The decree was expressed in the following words : ‘ Because I had preserved
‘ the city from flames, the citizens from a massacre,
‘ and Italy from a war.’ A thanksgiving, Romans, which, if compared with past ones, differs from them in this, that all others were appointed for some particular service to the state, this alone for saving it. The senate likewise saw that, which required our first care, first executed. For though P. Lentulus, upon the evidence we had of his guilt, and his own confession, was adjudged by the senate to have lost not only the prætorship, but also the privileges of a Roman citizen, yet he abdicated his magistracy. So that we were delivered from a scruple, which otherwise we might have entertained, in punishing a Roman magistrate ; a scruple indeed, which

which the illustrious C. Marius got easily over, when he put to death C. Glaucia the prætor, against whom no particular sentence had passed.

Now, Romans, as the impious leaders of this detestable and dangerous conspiracy, are seized and in safe custody, you ought to conclude, that all Catiline's forces, his strength, and hopes, are vanished, the dangers that threatened the city being thus averted. Indeed, Romans, whilst I was driving him from Rome, I foresaw, that if he was once removed, there could be nothing to apprehend from the dreams of Lentulus, the fat of Cassius, or the rashness of Cethegus. Catiline was the only person of them all to be dreaded, but no longer than while he continued within our walls. He knew every thing; he had access every where; he had both abilities and boldness to apply to, to tempt, and solicit, such as he thought proper instruments for his purposes; he was ready at concerting measures for every undertaking, and wanted neither eloquence nor activity to execute them. Besides, he had select persons for the execution of every scheme, and, notwithstanding this, he never reckoned a thing done, because he had ordered it, but attended to every thing in person; ever active, vigilant, and laborious, fearing neither cold, hunger, nor thirst. Had I not driven this man from his secret plots into open rebellion, a man of such spirit, so resolute, so daring, so artful, so vigilant to do mischief, so active in pursuing his desperate measures, I will tell you, what I really think, Romans, I should not easily have prevented so tragical an evil from falling upon your heads. He would not have put off the execution of his design till the Saturnalia; nor named the fatal day for the destruction of the state so long before hand: nor suffered his hand and seal, nay and living witnesses too, to be brought against him, as evidences
of

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of his guilt. Yet in his absence all has been managed in such a manner, that no theft in any private family was ever more clearly detected, than this mighty conspiracy. But if Catiline had continued in the city, till this day, though as long as he continued in it, I marred and obstructed all his measures, yet, to say the least, we must have come to blows with him ; nor, as long as he remained in Rome, could we have delivered the state from such dangers, with so much peace, tranquillity, and silence.

But all my proceedings on this occasion, citizens, have been conducted in such a manner, that they seem to have been under the influence and direction of the immortal gods. This we may infer not only from the impossibility of bringing about such events merely by human counsel, but from the almost visible interposition of the gods in our favour, during all this conjuncture. For not to mention the mighty streams of light from the west, the blazing of the heavens, the thunder, the earthquakes, and the other prodigies, which were so numerous in my consulship, that they seemed like the voice of the gods, foretelling all that has now happened ; surely, Romans, what I am now to relate ought not to be omitted or slighted.

You cannot but remember, how, under the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, several turrets of the capitol were struck with lightning, the images of the gods thrown down, the statues of antient heroes overturned ; the brazen tables of the laws dissolved ; nay even the gilt statue of the founder of Rome was struck, which you may remember to have seen in the capitol, representing him as an infant sucking a wolf. Upon this occasion, the soothsayers, being called together from all Etruria, declared

clared, that fire, slaughter, the extinction of the laws, civil war, and the ruin of the state and empire were portended, unless the gods could be so appeased, by all sorts of means, as to interpose, and even in some measure bend the course of fate itself. Upon their answer, solemn games were celebrated during ten days, nor was any thing neglected that was proper to pacify the gods. The same soothsayers likewise ordered a larger statue of Jupiter to be made, and placed on high, in a position, contrary to the former, with its face towards the east; declaring their hopes that, if his statue, which you now behold, looked towards the rising sun, the forum, and the senate house, then all plots against the state would be so fully detected, as to be clearly seen by the senate and people of Rome. Accordingly, the then consuls ordered the statue to be placed in the manner directed, but the work proceeded so slowly, that neither they nor I myself, have been able to get it executed before this very day.

Now, Romans, can any man be such an enemy to truth, so obstinate, so blind, as to deny that all things, especially this state, are governed by the power and providence of the gods? For when the soothsayers expressly declared, that certain members of the state were meditating flames, slaughter, and the utter ruin of the state; the guilt was so enormous as to seem incredible to some; yet you have seen these iniquities not only devised by wicked citizens, but even attempted. Is it possible then to deny the immediate interposition of Jupiter, the best and greatest, in your behalf; when, as the conspirators and witnesses were carried this morning, by my order, through the Forum to the temple of Concord, in that very moment the statue was fixed in its place? and being fixed and turned to look
upon

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upon you and the senate, both you and the senate saw all the secret measures, concerted for your ruin, discovered and exposed. They therefore deserve the severer punishment, and to be held in greater detestation, who impiously endeavoured to reduce to ashes, not only your houses and dwellings, but even the temples and seats of the immortal gods. Were I to assume the glory of defeating their purposes, it would be strange presumption, and intolerable vanity. It was he, it was Jupiter himself who opposed them; it was he who saved the capitol; he who preserved the temples; he who rescued this city and you all from ruin. It was from the immortal gods, Romans, that I derived my resolution and foresight; and by their guidance that I obtained these important discoveries.

Now as to the attempt of corrupting the Allobroges; Lentulus and his associates could never have been so foolish as to trust letters and affairs of such importance to men barbarous and unknown to them, had not the immortal gods deprived these audacious traitors of prudence and understanding. Can you imagine that any thing less than a divine interposition could have made the Gauls, a nation scarce yet reduced to terms of peace, and the only one that seems to have both strength and inclination to make war upon the Roman people, prefer your safety to their own interest, and lend a deaf ear to the flattering promises of dominion, and the greatest advantages, made them by the patricians? especially when they might have conquered us, not by fighting, but by holding their tongues.

As a thanksgiving then, Romans, has been decreed at all the shrines of the gods, celebrate the festival religiously with your wives and children: you have often given proofs of your gratitude to
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the immortal gods, when they were justly due ; but surely never were they more reasonable than at present. You are rescued from the most tragical and deplorable doom ; rescued without slaughter, without blood, without an army, without fighting : you have obtained the victory, without changing the habit of citizens, and without any general but me in my city robe.

Here, Romans, call to mind all your civil dissensions, not only those which you have heard of, but those which you yourselves remember, and have seen. L. Sylla destroyed P. Sulpicius ; drove C. Marius, who was the defender of this city, out of it ; banished many other brave Romans, and slaughtered many. Cn. Octavius the consul expelled his colleague from the city by force of arms ; and this place, where I now speak, was filled with heaps of slain, and flowed with the blood of citizens. Cinna prevailed next, with Marius ; and then it was that the bright luminaries of our state were extinguished by the slaughter of her most eminent members. Sylla afterwards took vengeance for this cruel victory ; with what infinite bloodshed, with what calamity to the state, it is needless to relate. Lepidus, in the quarrel which he had with that brave and renowned Roman, Catulus, not only brought ruin upon himself, but likewise upon others, the loss of whom was much more afflicting to the state. Yet all these dissensions, Romans, tended not so much to destroy, as to alter our government. It was not the design of the authors of them, that there should be no commonwealth, but that they should be masters of it ; they did not desire to see Rome in flames, but to rule in Rome. All these civil broils, however, none of which tended to the overthrow of the state, were of such a nature, that they never ended in the reconciliation of parties, but in the slaughter

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slaughter of citizens. It is not so in the present war, a war the greatest and most merciless that was ever known ; such a war as the greatest barbarians never carried on with their own nation ; a war, wherein Lentulus, Catiline, Cassius, and Cethegus, laid it down as a rule, to reckon all as enemies, who for their own preservation were interested in saving the state. In this war, Romans, I have acted in such a manner, as to preserve you all ; and though your enemies had concluded, that no more of you should remain, than could escape the general massacre ; and that just so much of Rome should stand, as the flames would not devour, yet I have preserved both your persons and city safe and intire.

For all these important services, Romans, I desire no other reward from you, no other badge of distinction, no other monuments of glory, than the eternal remembrance of this day. It is in your hearts I would have all my triumphs, all my trophies and trophies of glory and honour, founded and preserved. No silent monument of praise, nothing void of life, in a word, nothing attainable by persons of inferior merit, can afford me any delight. In your remembrance, Romans, my actions shall be ever cherished ; your praises shall render their fame ever fresh and flourishing ; your annals transmit them down from age to age : and on the same day shall the deliverance of the state, and my consulship be, I hope, eternally commemorated ; nor shall it ever be forgot, that there were two citizens living at the same time in the commonwealth, the one of whom was terminating the extent of the empire by the bounds of the horizon itself, the other preserving the seat and capital of that empire.

But as my case is different from theirs who conduct your wars abroad, who leave their enemies
either

either destroyed or incapable of troubling them, whilst I must live with those whom I have conquered and subdued, it is your part, Romans, to take care, that, as the good actions of others are beneficial to them, mine may not be detrimental to me. I have taken care that the guilty and bloody purposes of the most daring offenders should not hurt you ; it is now your business to take care that they never hurt me. Though in truth, citizens, I have nothing to fear from my enemies ; for strong is the protection of the worthy, a protection of which I am for ever assured ; mighty is the authority of the state, which will always defend me, without uttering a word ; and great is the power of conscience, which they who violate, must needs betray themselves, while they endeavour to injure me. Such too is my spirit, Romans, that I will not only never yield to the audaciousness of any, but even voluntarily attack all the profligate. But if our domestic enemies should point their united rage, from which I have preserved you, at me alone ; it must belong to you, Romans, to consider, in what situation those will be left for the future, whose zeal for your preservation exposes them to personal hate, and dangers of every kind.

As for me, what can I further acquire, that can heighten the relish of life ? when there is no higher dignity for you to confer upon me, no higher degree of glory arising from virtue, to be aspired after, than what I have already attained. One thing, Romans, I shall certainly effect ; I shall, in my private condition, defend and support what I acted in my consulship : that if I have incurred any envy for preserving the state, it may hurt the envious, but advance my glory. In short, I shall behave in the state in such a manner, as ever to keep before my eyes my past services to it, and shew, that what I
did

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did was not the effect of chance but of virtue. Do you, Romans, since it is now night, pray to Jupiter your guardian, and the guardian of Rome; then retire to your several houses, and, though the danger is now over, yet keep the same watch in them as you did before. That you may have no occasion to do it any longer, but be able, for the future, to live in uninterrupted quiet, shall be my care.

T H E

THE FOURTH
ORATION
AGAINST
CATILINE.

Spoken in the SENATE.

I Perceive, conscript fathers, every countenance, every eye fixed upon me. I perceive you all solicitious not only for your own and your country's danger, but were these repelled, for mine also. Such affectionate concern for me gives me pleasure and delight even in distress; but I beseech you by the immortal gods, to lay it aside, and, without regarding my safety, to think only of your own, and that of your children. Since my consulship is attended with such circumstances, that I am subjected to all manner of affliction, pain, and anguish, I will bear them not only courageously but cheerfully, if by my labours I can only secure your dignity and safety, with that of the Roman people.

Such, conscript fathers, has been the lot of my consulship, that neither the Forum, that center of equity; nor the field consecrated by solemn auspices; nor the senate-house, the refuge of all nations; nor domestic walls, the retreat of all men; nor the bed destined to rest; nay, nor this honourable seat, this chair of state, have been free from snares, and the perils of death. Many things have I dissembled; much have I suffered; much have I
I yielded;

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yielded ; and, to deliver you from your fears, I have undergone much pain myself. If the immortal gods have determined that I should finish my consulship by rescuing you, conscript fathers, and the Roman people from a bloody doom ; your wives, your children, and the vestal virgins, from the most barbarous usage ; the temples and altars of the gods, with our fair country, from the most execrable flames ; and all Italy from war and desolation ; I am content with whatever fate shall attend me : for if P. Lentulus, upon the faith of augurs, thought that his name was destined to bring destruction upon the state ; why should not I rejoice that my consulship has been reserved, as it were, by fate, for its preservation ?

Consult your own safety then, conscript fathers ; provide for your country ; secure yourselves, your wives, your children, and your fortunes ; defend the lives and dignity of the people of Rome, and drop your tenderness and concern for me. For, first, I have reason to hope that the gods, the protectors of this city, will reward me according to my services. Then should any unexpected fate befall me, I shall die with firmness and resolution ; for death can never be dishonourable to a brave man ; nor premature to one who has bore the consulship ; nor afflicting to the wife. Not that I am so lost to all the feelings of nature, as not to be sensibly affected with the grief of my dear and loving brother here present, and the tears of those who surround me. A wife too, sinking under sorrow, a daughter struck with fear, an infant son, whom, methinks I now see my country embracing, as the pledge of my consulship, and a son-in-law, whom I here see waiting the issue of this day, often recal my thoughts to my family. All these objects move me ; yet I had rather that they were preserved together

with you, even at the price of my own blood ; than that they, and all of us, should be involved in the common ruin of the state.

Turn your whole care upon the commonwealth, then, conscript fathers, watch on every side against approaching storms, which, without your vigilance, will overwhelm you. It is not a Tiberius Gracchus aspiring a second time to the tribuneship of the people ; nor a C. Gracchus exciting sedition, on account of the Agrarian law ; nor a L. Saturninus, the murderer of Memmius, who is now in judgment before you ; but criminals who remained at Rome, to fire the city, to destroy you all, and to receive Catiline. Their letters, their seals, their own confessions, are in your possession : they are convicted of having solicited the Allobroges to revolt, spirited up the slaves to rebel, sent for Catiline, and of having proposed to put all to the sword without exception, that not a soul might be left to lament the extinction of the Roman commonwealth, and the overthrow of so mighty an empire.

All this the witnesses have verified ; the criminals have confessed ; and you have already, by several determinations, declared it to be true. In the first place, you returned me thanks in the most honourable terms, and testified, that, by my courage and vigilance, this desperate conspiracy was discovered. In the next place, you forced Lentulus to abdicate the praetorship ; then you gave orders that he, and the rest whom you tried, should be committed to custody ; and what is chiefly observable, you appointed a thanksgiving in my name, an honour which was never conferred upon any in civil office before me. Lastly, you yesterday decreed large rewards to the deputies of the Allobroges, and T. Volturcius : all which things plainly shew, that

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those, whom you ordered by name to prison, were, without any scruple, condemned by you.

But I have resolved, conscript fathers, to propose to you anew the question both of the fact and punishment, after having premised what is incumbent upon me to say as consul. I have long observed a spirit of rage and fury prevailing in the state, and several dangerous innovations forming, but I never imagined that so great, so dreadful a conspiracy, was entered into by citizens. Now whatever determination you come to, you must come to it before night. You have already had full evidence of the enormity of the guilt; and if you think there are but few concerned in it, you are widely mistaken. The evil has spread farther than you imagine; it has diffused itself not only over all Italy, but has passed the Alps, and gliding imperceptably along, has infected many provinces. Delay and forbearance will never crush it: whatever punishment you resolve upon, you must execute it speedily.

I perceive as yet but two opinions; the one of D. Silanus, who is for putting those to death who have conspired to destroy the commonwealth; the other of C. Cæsar, who, excepting death, proposes every other rigorous punishment. Both agreeably to their dignity, and the importance of the cause, are for treating them with the utmost severity. The former thinks, that those, who endeavoured to deprive us and the Roman people of life, to abolish the empire of Rome, and extinguish the very name of it, are unworthy of breathing this vital air, and of enjoying the benefit of living a moment; he shews likewise that this punishment has been often inflicted on seditious citizens in this state. The latter conceives, that death was not appointed by the immortal gods as a punishment, but either as a

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necessary law of nature, or a deliverance from our miseries; accordingly, the wise never meet it unwillingly, the brave often voluntarily; but that bonds, especially if perpetual, were certainly contrived for the punishment of detestable crimes. He therefore advises that the criminals be adjudged to chains, and distributed among the municipal towns. In this proposal, however, there seems to be some injustice, if you order it; or some difficulty if you only desire it. Yet if you think proper, let it be decreed; I will undertake to find those (and I hope I shall be able to do it) who will think it unsuitable to their dignity to refuse complying with what you judge necessary for the common safety. He adds a heavy penalty on the municipal towns, if any of the criminals should escape; he surrounds them with dreadful guards; and, as such abandoned profligates deserve, provides, by severe sanctions, against any application to the senate or people, for a mitigation of their punishment. Nay, he even deprives them of hope, the only comfort of the miserable; orders their estates to be confiscated, and leaves the guilty wretches nothing but life: doubtless, because were he to deprive them of that, he would ease them at once of all farther pain, either of mind or body, and all the sufferings due to their crimes. On this account it was, that, to keep the wicked under some awe in this life, the ancients invented future punishments for them; imagining, that death itself would be stripped of all its terrors, were the dread of such to be taken away.

Now, conscript fathers, I see how much my particular interest is concerned, that you should follow Cæsar's opinion; because, as he has taken what is accounted the popular part in the state, I shall perhaps be secured from any popular insults, when it is known that he is the author of this vote; but if

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you follow Silanus's, I know not what difficulties it may bring me under. Let a regard, however, to the interests of the commonwealth outweigh all considerations of my danger. Cæsar, agreeable to his dignity, and the lustre of his ancestors, has made a proposal, which is, as it were, a perpetual pledge of his affection to his country, and which shews the difference between the affected lenity of our declaimers, and a truly patriot spirit, wholly concerned for the people's safety. I cannot but observe, that one of those who would be thought popular, has absented himself from this day's debate, that he might not give a vote upon the life of a Roman citizen : yet he declared, the other day, for committing Roman citizens to prison ; voted a thanksgiving for me ; and yesterday concurred with us in bestowing great rewards upon the informers. It can remain a doubt with none then, what his sentiments were on the merits of the cause, when he voted for imprisonment to the accused, public thanks to the impleader, and rewards to the informers.

C. Cæsar, however, urges the Sempronian law, which secures the lives of Roman citizens ; but he knows very well, that whoever is an enemy to the commonwealth, can no longer be considered as a citizen ; nay, that the author of that law suffered death himself, by the order of the people. Nor can such a person as the profuse and prodigal Lentulus be accounted by Cæsar a popular man, when he has contrived such pestilent and bloody schemes for the destruction of the Roman people, and the ruin of this city. Accordingly, tho' he be a man of the most mild and merciful temper, he makes no scruple in condemning Lentulus to a gloomy prison for life ; and enacts, that, for the future, none shall propose a mitigation of his punishment, to
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prevent any one's boasting, or becoming popular by a step so pernicious to the Roman people. He likewise subjoins the confiscation of their goods, that want and beggary may be added to every other torment of soul and body. If you follow Cæsar's opinion, therefore, you will give me a companion to the assembly, who is very dear to the Roman people; or if you prefer that of Silanus, you will easily defend both yourselves and me from the imputation of cruelty; nay, I shall prove, that it is by far the gentler course.

Yet, conscript fathers, where is the cruelty in punishing such enormous treason? The judgment I have declared upon the matter is the real sentiment of my heart. And may I never enjoy the benefit of my country's safety, together with you, if my ardor on this occasion, proceeds from any severity of temper; for who has less of it? but from pure humanity and tenderness. For, methinks, I see this magnificent city, the glory of the earth, and the refuge of all nations, swallowed up in one sudden flame. My imagination presents to view heaps of slaughtered citizens unburied, and my country in ruins: I have now Cethegus full in my eye, quenching his frantic rage in your blood. Next, when I figure to myself Lentulus reigning with absolute sway, a lot which he himself acknowledges the Fates encouraged him to hope for; Gabinius in a purple robe; and Catiline arrived with an army; I am struck with horror at what follows: the shrieks of matrons, the flight of virgins and boys, and even the violation of the holy vestals. Now as these appear to me shocking and deplorable calamities, I act with rigour towards those who endeavoured to introduce them. Suppose a master of a family found his children butchered, his wife murdered, his house burnt, by a

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slave ; in inflicting the most rigorous punishment upon that slave, would he be looked upon as tender and compassionate, or very inhuman and barbarous ? To me he would appear quite savage and cruel, if he did not endeavour to sooth his own anguish and sufferings, by the sufferings and anguish of the guilty cause.

Thus with regard to these criminals, who intended to slaughter us all, our wives, and children ; who endeavoured to raze our several dwellings, and this city, the center of our commonwealth ; who designed to settle the Allobroges upon the ruins of Rome, and in the ashes of our empire ; if we treat them with the utmost severity, we shall be reckoned compassionate ; but if we exercise lenity towards them, we must be branded with the everlasting infamy of the greatest cruelty, in exposing our country and fellow-citizens to ruin. Unless any one will charge L. Cæsar, that brave man, that hearty friend to his country, with cruelty, for declaring, the other day, in the senate, that the husband of his sister, a lady of distinguished merit, deserved to die, and that in his presence and hearing : alleging the example of his grandfather, who was slain by the consul's orders, and his son, though yet a youth, executed in prison, when sent on a message by his father. Had they committed any offence like this ? had they formed any conspiracy for the destruction of the state ? A spirit of courting the people by procuring grants in their favour, prevailed then in the state, whence opposite parties began to be formed ; and at that time the illustrious grandfather of this very Lentulus took arms, and fell upon Gracchus ; nay, to prevent the state from losing any of its rights, he was grievously wounded. The present Lentulus, to overturn the very foundations of the state, sends for the Gauls,

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stirs up the slaves to rebel, invites Catiline, delivers us up to be butchered by Cethegus, the rest of the citizens to be murdered by Gabinius, the city to be set on fire by Cassius, and all Italy to be ravaged and plundered by Catiline. Can I imagine then that you are afraid of being charged with too much severity, in proceeding against such monstrous and inhuman guilt? When you have much more cause to be afraid of being thought cruel towards your country for a remissness of punishing, than for any severity that can be shewn to such outrageous enemies. But I cannot conceal what I hear: a rumour has reached my ears, spread abroad by such as seem to be afraid that I have not a sufficient force to support and execute your sentence.

All necessary measures, conscript fathers, are concerted, and every thing is fully provided, which is not so much owing to my great care and vigilance, as to the strong desire the Roman people have discovered of retaining their sovereignty, and preserving their fortunes in full security. The whole body of the people is assembled to support us, men of every rank, and of every age: the Forum, the temples round the Forum, and all the avenues to this house are crowded. This, indeed, is the only cause, since the building of Rome, wherein all have been unanimous, if you except those, who, finding their own ruin inevitable, chose rather to involve the whole community in their doom, than fall by themselves. Such I cheerfully except, and separate from the rest; for they are not to be accounted pestilent citizens, but inveterate enemies. As for all others, immortal gods! in what crowds, with what ardor, with what courage do they all concur to preserve the public dignity and welfare! Why need I mention the Roman knights, men, who,

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who, whilst they do not dispute the superiority of your rank, nor your right to preside in the public councils, yet vie with you in their zeal for the republic; whom, after a dissention of many years, this day's cause has reconciled and firmly attached to us. This union, which my consulship has confirmed, if we can but perpetuate, be assured by me, that no civil or domestic evil can ever again disturb the state.

I see that the brave tribunes of the exchequer have assembled with equal zeal in defence of their country, together with all the officers, who, happening to meet this day at the treasury in great numbers, have neglected their private concerns, and been solely intent upon the public safety. We have likewise, to assist us, the whole body of free-born citizens, even the meanest. For who is there, to whom these temples, the face of this city, the enjoyment of liberty, nay, the common light, and the very soil of our country, are not only dear, but delightful?

What deserves to be considered too, conscript fathers, is the zeal of those freed-men, who, having by their merit obtained the right of citizens, look upon this as their native country; whereas some born here, and to distinguished privileges too, regard this not as their country, but as an enemy's city.

But what need is there to mention those, who are roused to take upon them the defence of their country, either from their regards to private interest, to the public good, or from their love of liberty, that darling blessing? There is not a slave, whose condition of life is but tolerable, who does not look with abhorrence upon the daring rebellion
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of our countrymen; who does not wish the safety of Rome; who does not contribute whatever he dares, whatever he is allowed, towards the publick security.

If any of you, therefore, are shocked with the report, that an infamous agent of Lentulus is running from shop to shop, and soliciting the needy and thoughtless; it is indeed true, the thing has been attempted: but none were found so wretched in their condition, or so abandoned in their inclinations, as to follow him: they are all desirous to preserve their mean habitations, where they labour, and earn their daily bread, together with their little huts and beds; and to secure their peaceful course of life. The far greater part of those, who live in shops, or rather all of them indeed, are lovers of peace: for their whole stock, their whole industry and profit is supported by the fulness and peace of the city. Now if their gain is lessened by shutting up their shops, what must be the consequence, if they were burnt?

Since the Roman people then, conscript fathers, are not wanting in their duty towards you, it is your part not to be wanting to the Roman people. You have a consul snatched from a variety of dangers and snares, nay from the jaws of death itself, for your preservation, rather than that of his own life. All ranks of men unite in opinion, in inclination, in zeal, in courage, and in voice to secure the commonwealth. Your common country, beset with the brands and weapons of impious rebellion, stretches out her suppliant hands to you: to you she recommends herself; to you the lives of all the citizens; to you the castle and capitol; to you the altars of the household gods; to you the eternal fire of Vesta; to you all the temples and
altars

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altars of the gods ; to you the walls and dwellings of this city. Besides, this day you are to pass judgment on your own lives, upon those of your wives and children, upon the fortunes of all, upon your houses and private property. You have a leader, such as is not always to be met with, watchful for you, and regardless of himself. You have likewise, what was never known before in any publick case, all ranks, all men, the whole body of the Roman people, of one and the same mind. Consider how one night had almost demolished the mighty fabric of this empire, reared with such vast labour ; had almost destroyed its liberty, established with so much bravery, and dissipated all that profusion of accumulated wealth, for which we are indebted to the signal munificence and protection of the gods. That such treason may not only never be accomplished, but not so much as thought of by any citizen, it is your business this day to provide. These considerations, I have urged, not with a view to animate your zeal, in which you almost surpass me, but to discharge the duty of consul, who ought to have the leading voice in the state.

Before I conclude, conscript fathers, I shall offer a few words with regard to myself. I perceive that I have drawn upon me the enmity of the whole body of conspirators, which you are sensible is very great : I look upon them, however, as a base, impotent, abject, and contemptible faction. But if, through the madness and villainy of any, they should ever prevail against your authority, and that of the state ; yet, conscript fathers, I shall never repent of my present conduct and counsels. For death, with which perhaps they may threaten me, is prepared for all men ; but no one ever acquired that glory of life, which
you

you have conferred upon me by your decrees. To all others you have decreed thanks for the successful management of the state ; to me alone for having saved it.

Let Scipio be celebrated, he, whose conduct and valour forced Hannibal to return into Africa, and abandon Italy ; let the other Scipio be crowned with distinguished renown, who destroyed Numantia and Carthage, those inveterate enemies of Rome. Let high fame ever follow L. Paulus, whose triumph was graced with the captivity of Perses, that once powerful and glorious prince. Let Marius be covered with eternal honour, who twice delivered Italy from invasion, and the fear of slavery ; let Pompey be preferred to all others, whose exploits and virtues extend to the remotest regions visited by the sun ; surely amidst all these, some place will be left for my praise : unless it is greater merit to open a way into new provinces, than to take care that our conquerors may have a home to return to. A foreign victory is indeed, in one respect, preferable to a domestick one ; because foreign enemies, if once conquered, either become submissive, or, if received into alliance, reckon themselves under the tie of gratitude : but when citizens are seized with madness to such a degree as to become rebels, if their plots against the state are baffled, you can neither keep them quiet by force, nor oblige them by favours. I see then that I have undertaken an eternal war with traiterous citizens ; but I am confident, it will never hurt me nor mine, while I have so powerful a support in your protection, and that of every worthy man, and in the memory of those dangers that surrounded us ; dangers which

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will ever be remembered, not only by those who were delivered from them, but by all nations. Nor will any force be found strong enough to shake the present union between you and the Roman knights, supported by so powerful a confederacy of all good citizens.

Instead, therefore, conscript fathers, of the command of armies; instead of the province which I declined; instead of the triumph, and the other distinctions of honour, which I rejected for your preservation, and that of the city; instead of all the advantages of friends and dependants in the provinces, which I employ the publick aid to support as much as I do to acquire; for all these services; for all the instances of my ardent concern for your interests; and for all the proofs which you see of my unwearied diligence to preserve the state; I require nothing more of you, than the remembrance of this juncture, and of the whole of my consulship. While that continues fixed in your minds, I shall think myself surrounded with an impregnable bulwark. But should the violence of the wicked defeat my hopes, and prevail against me; to you I recommend my infant son, to whom, I trust, it will be a sufficient guard not only of his safety but of his dignity, that you remember him to be the son of one, who, at the hazard of his own life, preserved you all. As you regard, therefore, conscript fathers, your very lives, with those of your wives and children; as you regard your religion and property; as you regard your sanctuaries, your temples, your habitations, and the dwellings of this city; as you regard your empire, your liberty, the preservation of Italy, and
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the whole commonwealth ; proceed, as you have determined, to some vigorous and resolute decree. You have a consul, who will not only, without hesitation, obey your decrees, but likewise, while he breathes, in person defend and execute them.

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THE
W A R
AGAINST
JUGURTHA.

THE
W A R

1861-1865

J. GURTH A.

THE
W A R
A G A I N S T
J U G U R T H A.

IT is an unjust complaint that mankind have made of their nature, as being frail and of short duration, and governed more by chance, than by virtue. For on the contrary, you will find nothing, upon reflection, greater or more excellent; and that men want industry more than time or abilities.

The director and governor of human life is the soul; which, when it pursues glory in the paths of virtue, is abundantly prevalent, nay even crowned with renown, and stands in no need of the aids of fortune, which can neither bestow, nor take away probity, industry, or any worthy quality. But when the soul becomes enslaved to ignoble passions, and, abandoning itself to indolence and sensual pleasure, has, by a course of debauchery, lost in sloth, its vigour, time, and abilities, the frailty of nature is blamed. For it is usual with men to blame the course of things for the evils they bring upon themselves. Whereas would they but engage in virtuous pursuits with the same ardor and spirit as they do in such as are uninteresting,

may and dangerous too ; they would no more be governed by fortune, than fortune by them ; they would even arrive at such sublime heights of grandeur, as, from being mortals, to become immortal through glory.

For as man is compounded of soul and body, so all our actions, and all our pursuits partake of the one or the other. Accordingly beauty, great wealth, strength of body, and other things of the like nature, are of short duration ; but the noble productions of the soul are, like itself, immortal. Moreover, the good things of the body, and of fortune, as they have a beginning, so they have a period ; and all things indeed that rise and increase, fall and decay. But the soul is incorruptible and immortal ; the governor of human kind ; which animates and comprehends all things, but is comprehended by nothing itself. So that the depravity of those is the more surprizing, who, sunk in sensuality, spend their lives in luxury and idleness ; and suffer their minds, the noblest and most refined part of their frame, to lie uncultivated, and languish in indolence ; especially, since there are so many and such various accomplishments by which the mind may acquire the highest renown.

Magistracy, and high command, though among the number of such pursuits, yet do not appear to me to be at all desirable, at this conjuncture ; nor indeed any share in the administration : since honours are neither bestowed on the virtuous, nor are they who obtain authority by infamous means, the more secure, or the more honourable, for enjoying it. For to govern your country and kindred by force, though you may have it in your power, and may even rectify abuses, is however a dangerous situation ; especially since all innovations in a
state

state threaten slaughter, banishment, and all the miseries of war. To strive for power to no purpose, and to reap nothing, by continual fatigue, but publick odium, is extreme madness; unless we imagine any one to be possessed of so base and pernicious a spirit, as to sacrifice his honour and liberty to the power of a few.

Among the different ways of employing men's abilities, that of writing history is of eminent use; but I shall say nothing of its excellence, because many have already shewn it; and lest I should be charged with vanity, for extolling what I am myself engaged in. There are some, however, I doubt not, who, because I have resolved to pass my days at a distance from any share in the management of publick affairs, will be ready to call this my undertaking, however great and useful in itself, an indolent amusement: this, at least, will be the language of such, who think the task of saluting the people by their names, and courting their favour by feasts, the greatest of all.

But if these men will only consider at what times I was promoted in the state; the dignity of those, who were then unsuccessful in their pursuit of employment; and what sort of men have since got into the senate, they will certainly allow, that I altered my sentiments upon just grounds, and not from indolence; and that the state will reap more benefit by my retiring from business, than by the caballings of others. For I have often heard that Q. Maximus and P. Scipio, with other great men of our state, were wont to say, that, upon beholding the images of their ancestors, their minds were powerfully animated to virtue. Not that the wax, or the figure, made so strong an impression upon their minds; it was only the recollection of the

glorious achievements of their fore-fathers, that excited that generous flame in the breasts of those brave men, which they could never extinguish, till they had attained the like degree of glory and reputation.

How different are the manners of the present age; in which there is not a man to be found, who vies with his ancestors in probity and industry, but in riches only and extravagance. Nay, even persons of obscure birth, who were formerly wont to anticipate nobility by their virtuous deeds, aspire now after places of honour and power, by secret contrivances, and money got by injustice and violence, rather than by worthy accomplishments. As if the prætorship, consulship, and all the other dignities, conferred glory and renown of themselves, and did not owe their estimation to the good behaviour of such as are vested with them. But I have been carried too far, and taken too much freedom, from my concern for the depravity of the state. Now I come to my purpose.

I am going to write the history of a war, which the Roman people carried on with Jugurtha king of the Numidians: a subject which I have made choice of, because, in the first place, the war was a terrible and obstinate one, and the success long uncertain; and likewise because a check was then given, for the first time, to the exorbitant pride of the nobility: a contention which confounded all things, divine and human; and was carried to such a height of madness and fury, that it ended in a civil war, and the desolation of Italy. But before I enter upon this task, I shall trace a few things backwards, that what follows may appear in a clearer and stronger light.

During

against JUGURTHA. 135

During the second Punic war, wherein Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, reduced the power of Italy, more than had ever been done since the Roman name became formidable, Masinissa, king of the Numidians, being received into the Roman friendship, by P. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, on account of his gallant achievements, performed many and glorious exploits; in consideration of which, when the Carthaginians were overcome, and Syphax taken, who had an extensive and powerful kingdom in Africa, all the cities and lands that had been taken from him, were given to Masinissa by the Roman people. This prince continued a faithful and useful ally to us, till death put an end to his reign: upon which, his son Micipsa succeeded alone to the kingdom, his brothers Masinissa and Gulussa dying some time before. Micipsa had two sons, Atherbal and Hiemfal; but kept at his court, and educated with the same care as his own children, the son of his brother Masinissa, called Jugurtha, whom Masinissa had left in a private condition, because he was born of a concubine.

This youth, when he grew up, with all the advantages of strength of body, a graceful person; and, above all, a fine genius, did not suffer himself to be carried away with luxury and idleness; but, agreeably to the manners of the nation, accustomed himself to ride, to throw the dart, to contend with his companions in running; and though he surpassed all in glory, he was still beloved by all. Besides, he spent a good deal of time in the chase: and was always the first, or amongst the first, in wounding the lion, and other wild beasts; and though he performed a great many brave deeds, he never boasted of himself. Micipsa was at first

highly pleased with this, thinking that the bravery of Jugurtha would reflect glory upon his reign ; but when he considered, that he himself was now grown old, that his children were very young, and that Jugurtha was in the prime of life, and growing daily in reputation, he was deeply affected, and his mind distracted with perplexing thoughts. The consideration of the ambitious nature of man, and his impetuosity in gratifying his desires, alarmed him ; and likewise the favourable opportunity arising from his own age, and that of his children, which was a temptation strong enough to transport even men of moderate views ; add to all this, the great affection of the Numidians for Jugurtha, which made him apprehensive, lest, should he destroy him by artifice, it might occasion a sedition, or a civil war.

Being thus beset with difficulties, and finding that it was not possible for him to destroy so popular a man, either by force or fraud, he resolved to expose him to the dangers of war, as he was of a daring disposition, and fond of military glory, and thus try what fortune would do. Accordingly, Micipsa, being to dispatch auxiliaries of horse and foot to the Romans, who were then laying siege to Numantia, sent him to Spain, as their commander ; in hopes that he would be cut off, either from an ostentation of his courage, or the efforts of the enemy. But that matter fell out quite contrary to his expectation. For as soon as Jugurtha, who had great vivacity and penetration, became acquainted with the temper of P. Scipio the Roman general, and the character of the enemy, he in a short time acquired so high renown, by his great labour and application, his submissive obedience to orders, and exposing himself often to dangers, that he was extremely beloved by our men, and dreaded by the
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against JUGURTHA. 137

Numantians. He was, indeed, both brave in action, and wise in council; qualities very seldom united in the same person: precaution being generally accompanied with fear, and courage with rashness.

Accordingly Scipio employed Jugurtha to put all his most difficult enterprizes in execution, took him into the number of his intimate friends, and grew fonder of him daily, as one who succeeded in all his schemes and undertakings. To these advantages were added great generosity and address; by which means he had contracted an intimate friendship with many of the Romans.

There were many at that time in our army, some of high rank, others newly raised, who preferred riches to virtue and honour; men of factious dispositions, of great power at Rome, and more distinguished among our allies by their figure, than their honesty. These inflamed the mind of Jugurtha (of itself ambitious enough) by assuring him, 'that when Micipsa died, he alone would have the kingdom of Numidia; as he was a person of such distinguished merit, and all things venal at Rome.'

Upon the destruction of Numantia, when Scipio had determined to dismiss the auxiliaries, and return home himself, having bestowed great presents and high encomiums upon Jugurtha, in presence of the whole army, he brought him into his tent; and there advised him in private, 'to court the friendship of the Roman people in a publick rather than private way, and not to bestow bribes on any; that it was dangerous to purchase from a few, what belonged to all. If he would but continue in his virtuous practices, that glory and sovereignty would fall to him of course; but if he
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‘hurried on precipitately, his money would prove
‘his ruin.’

After having given him this advice, he dismissed him with the following letter to Micipsa. ‘Your
‘nephew Jugurtha has highly distinguished himself,
‘during the siege of Numantia; which, I am sure,
‘will give you great joy. His great merit has made
‘him dear to me; and I shall use my endeavours
‘that he be so to the senate and people of Rome.
‘I congratulate you, indeed, on this occasion, as
‘my friend: for in him you have a man worthy
‘of you, and his grandfather Masinissa.’

The king finding that what he had learned from common fame, was confirmed by Scipio’s letter, was so touched with the merit and interest of the man, that he altered his purposes, and endeavoured to gain him by favours. Accordingly he immediately adopted him, and by his will, made him joint-heir with his sons to the kingdom. A few years after, being worn out with age and infirmities, and finding that the period of his life was approaching, he is said to have addressed himself to Jugurtha, in the presence of his friends and relations, as also of Atherbal and Hiempsal, to this purpose.

‘I took thee, Jugurtha, when a fatherless infant,
‘and without hopes or fortune, under my own care;
‘as I promised myself, that my favours would
‘render me as dear to thee, as if I had been thy
‘father. Nor have I indeed been disappointed:
‘for, not to mention thy other great and noble
‘achievements, thy late behaviour at Numantia
‘reflects honour upon me and my kingdom. By
‘thy gallant behaviour, thou hast united us to the
‘Romans in closer ties of friendship than before;
‘and

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‘ and revived the honour of our family in Spain.
‘ In a word (what is the most difficult thing among
‘ men) thou hast even overcome envy itself by thy
‘ glory. Now, as nature is putting a period to my
‘ days, I beseech and adjure thee, by this right
‘ hand, and the honour of a prince, to embrace
‘ with a tender and affectionate regard these my
‘ sons, thy near relations by birth; thy brethren
‘ by my generosity; and not to prefer the friend-
‘ ship of strangers, to that of persons united to thee
‘ by blood.

‘ It is not troops, or treasures, that are the sup-
‘ port of a kingdom, but friends; whom you can
‘ neither acquire by force, nor purchase with mo-
‘ ney: they are only to be procured by good offices
‘ and fidelity. Now, who should be more closely
‘ united in friendship, than brothers? or what
‘ stranger will be found faithful to him, who is an
‘ enemy to his own relations? I leave you a king-
‘ dom strong indeed, if you are virtuous and agree;
‘ but weak, if you are wicked, and at variance
‘ with one another. For by union small states flou-
‘ rish, whilst the greatest are destroyed by di-
‘ visions.

‘ Now, it is more incumbent upon thee, Jugur-
‘ tha, as surpassing thy brethren in age and wisdom,
‘ to take care, that no dissensions arise; for in all
‘ contests, the most powerful, even though he re-
‘ ceives an injury, is still thought to have done it,
‘ because he is most able. As for you, Atherbal
‘ and Hiempsal, observe and reverence this worthy
‘ man: imitate his bravery; and let it never be
‘ said, that Micipsa was happier in his adopted
‘ children than in his own.’

Jugurtha, though he was very sensible of the king's insincerity, and had himself quite different views from what he pretended, yet made a very dutiful reply, suitable to the occasion. Micipsa died a few days after ; and after his funeral was celebrated with royal magnificence by the young princes, they met together to regulate their affairs.

Hiempsal, the youngest of them, who was naturally violent, and had been accustomed to treat Jugurtha with contempt, on account of his mean birth by his mother, seated himself at Atherbal's right hand, to prevent Jugurtha's sitting in the middle, the most honourable place among the Numidians : and though he was prevailed upon by the importunity of his brother to yield to superior age, and go to the farther side, yet it was with reluctance. At this interview, after much reasoning about the administration of affairs, Jugurtha proposed, among other things, to repeal all the ordinances and regulations of Micipsa for the last five years of his life ; as he was worn out with age, and the vigour of his faculties lost. Hiempsal replied, ' that he was entirely of the same opinion ; since Jugurtha had been made partner ' of the kingdom by adoption, only within three ' years.'

This expression sunk deeper in Jugurtha's mind, than any one imagined ; insomuch that, from that very time, being distracted with rage and fear, he was eagerly bent upon the destruction of Hiempsal, and continually meditating by what secret means to effect it. But these operating too slowly for the violence of his resentment, which was not in the least abated ; he determined to execute his design

at

at any rate. At the first meeting of the princes, already mentioned, it was agreed, that, to prevent mutual disputes, the publick treasure should be divided, and the kingdom too, with the portion of each marked out by distinct boundaries; and certain times were appointed for both these purposes, but first for the distribution of the money.

In the mean time, the young princes retired to different places adjacent to where the treasure lay: Hiempsal, particularly, to Thermida, where he happened to lodge in the house of one who was Jugurtha's principal licitor, and had always been his favourite and confident. Fortune presenting Jugurtha with so fit an instrument, he loaded him with promises, and prevailed upon him to go, under pretence of seeing his house, and provide himself with false keys to the gates; for the true ones were always carried to Hiempsal; assuring him, that, when matters were ready, he himself would come with a considerable body of men.

The Numidian soon executed his orders, and introduced Jugurtha's soldiers by night, agreeably to his instructions; who, as soon as they entered the house, went different ways in quest of the prince; put to death all they found asleep, and all such as they met; searched every private apartment; broke open such as were shut; and filled the whole house with confusion and horror. Mean while Hiempsal was discovered, concealing himself in a mean apartment belonging to a servant maid, whither he had fled, full of dread, upon the first alarm, being unacquainted with the house. The Numidians, according to their instructions, carried his head to Jugurtha.

The

The news of so horrible a murder soon flew over all Africa. Atherbal, and all those who had been subject to Micipsa, were seized with terror: the Numidians divided into two parties; the greater number declared for Atherbal, but the best soldiers for Jugurtha; who immediately raised as great an army as possible, reduced several cities by force under his obedience, got others to submit to him, and pushed for nothing less than to be master of all Numidia. Atherbal, though he had dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate of the murder of his brother, and his own distressful situation, yet depending upon the number of his men, he resolved to hazard a battle; but being defeated, upon the first onset, he fled to our province, and from thence went to Rome.

Jugurtha, having thus executed his designs, and made himself master of all Numidia; when he came to reflect, at his leisure, upon his enormous crimes, began to dread the Roman people, and had no hopes of security against their resentment, but in the avarice of the nobility, and in his money. He therefore sent ambassadors to Rome, in a few days, with great store of gold and silver, and ordered them first of all to load his old friends with presents; then to make new ones: in a word, to spare no money for bringing over to his interest as many as possible.

When the ambassadors were arrived at Rome, and, according to the king's instructions, had sent large presents to his friends, and others of great interest in the senate; so great a change happened, that Jugurtha, who was before held in detestation, grew all on a sudden into mighty favour with the nobility; many of whom being gained over by bribes,

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bribes, and others hoping to be bribed, used all their interest with every senator, to prevent any rigorous resolution against him. When the ambassadors thought their cause was safe, a day was fixed for the senate to give audience to both parties. Upon which occasion, it is said, that Atherbal spoke in the following manner.

‘ My father’s orders to me, conscript fathers, in his dying moments, were, that I should look upon myself as having the administration of the kingdom of Numidia only, the right and sovereignty being yours ; and likewise to endeavour to be as serviceable to the Roman people as possible, both in war and peace ; to esteem you as my kindred and relations ; adding, if I did so, I should find, in your friendship, forces, riches, with every necessary support to my kingdom. when I was going to pursue these orders of my dying father, Jugurtha, the most wicked wretch on earth, in open contempt of your authority, stripped me, the grandson of Masinissa, the hereditary friend and ally of the Roman people, of my kingdom and my all.

‘ Since I was to be reduced to so wretched a condition, conscript fathers, I wish I could have implored your aid, rather on account of my own services, than those of my ancestors ; above all, that I could have had a title to such aid, without standing in need of it, or, if I did, have received it as my due. But as innocence of itself is but a weak defence ; and as it was not in my power to form the heart of Jugurtha, I have fled to you for protection, conscript fathers, to whom I am forced to be a burden, before I have done any service, which is my greatest misfortune. Other kings have been either conquered by you, and
‘ then

‘ then received into your alliance, or in their distress
‘ have implored your friendship; our family com-
‘ menced allies to the Roman people, during their
‘ war with Carthage, at a time when the Roman
‘ honour was more to be regarded than their for-
‘ tune.

‘ Do not suffer me, conscript fathers, who am
‘ descended from that family, and the grandson of
‘ Masinissa, to employ your aid in vain. If I had
‘ nothing to plead, in order to obtain it, but my
‘ wretched condition, that I, who was but lately a
‘ prince, of high descent, of signal renown, and
‘ great power, am now reduced by complicated mi-
‘ sery, destitute and forlorn, and dependant upon
‘ others for succour; it would still become the dig-
‘ nity of the Roman people, to protect me from
‘ oppression, and not to suffer any man to enlarge
‘ his territories by iniquity. But I have been for-
‘ ced from those very possessions, which the Roman
‘ people gave my ancestors, and from whence, my
‘ father and grandfather, in conjunction with you,
‘ drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. It is your
‘ bounty, conscript fathers, that is torn from
‘ me; and in the injuries done me you are in-
‘ fulted.

‘ Alas! miserable man that I am! are these the
‘ fruits of thy generosity, O my father! that he, whom
‘ thou didst adopt, he, whom thou hast left joint-
‘ heir to thy kingdom with thy own sons, should, of
‘ all others; be the instrument to extirpate thy race?
‘ shall our family never find quiet? must ours be
‘ ever a bloody lot? must the devouring sword, and
‘ banishment, be always our portion?

‘ Whilst the Carthaginians continued in power,
‘ no wonder we were exposed to all manner of cala-
‘ mities.

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' mities. Our enemies were at our doors, you our
' friends were afar off; and all our hopes in our
' arms. When Africa was freed from that plague,
' we enjoyed the sweets of peace, as having no
' enemies, unless you commanded us to treat any
' as such; when, on a sudden, Jugurtha, with in-
' supportable audaciousness, glorying in his pride
' and cruelty, murders my brother, his near rela-
' tion, and seizes his kingdom as the reward of
' his crime: then finding that he could not destroy
' me by the same wicked snares, he fell upon me
' with open force, at a time, when trusting to your
' power, I expected neither war nor violence, drove
' me from my country and my home, and reduced
' me to that wretched condition, wherein I now
' appear before you, destitute of every thing, and
' so oppressed with misery, that I am safer any where
' than in my own kingdom.

' I have often, conscript fathers, heard my father
' say, and I was myself of the same opinion, that
' whoever set themselves carefully to cultivate
' friendship with you, were engaged indeed in an
' arduous undertaking, but were, of all others,
' the most secure. Our family has done all that
' was in their power for you; they have assisted you
' in all your wars; it is in your power, conscript
' fathers, now that you enjoy peace, to place us in
' a state of security. My father left behind him us
' two brothers, and by adopting Jugurtha for a
' third, thought to engage him in the closest union
' with us. One of the three is already murdered;
' and it was with difficulty I escaped from the bloody
' hands of the other.

' What shall I do? or whether had I best go,
' miserable man that I am? all the supports of my
' family are cut off. My father through age yielded
L 'to

' to the lot of human nature ; Jugurtha, tramp-
 ' ling upon every tie of nature and gratitude, im-
 ' brued his wicked hands in the blood of my bro-
 ' ther. My other friends and relations, wherever
 ' he took them, he has destroyed by a variety of
 ' cruel deaths ; some he has crucified ; others he
 ' has thrown to wild beasts ; those few, whose lives
 ' he has spared, are imprisoned in gloomy dungeons,
 ' there to lead a life more insupportable than death,
 ' in sorrow and anguish.

' Were I still in possession of all that I have lost ;
 ' were my circumstances, which are now so wretched,
 ' as flourishing as formerly, and those persons, who
 ' are now my enemies, my friends as before ; I
 ' should yet apply to you, conscript fathers, for suc-
 ' cour, in case of any sudden calamity befalling
 ' me ; to you, whom it becomes, on account of
 ' your great power and dominion, to maintain
 ' equity and prevent injustice every where. But
 ' now that I am banished from my country, from
 ' my home, forsaken by all, destitute of every thing
 ' suitable to my rank, to whom shall I go, to whom
 ' shall I apply for aid ? Shall I apply to such na-
 ' tions and princes, as are all the avowed enemies
 ' of our family, on account of our friendship with
 ' you ? have I any place to go to, where there are
 ' not monuments of hostilities committed by my an-
 ' cestors upon your account ? or can any one, who
 ' has ever been your enemy, have compassion upon
 ' me ?

' We were, moreover, taught by Masinissa, never
 ' to cultivate friendship with any but the Roman
 ' people, to enter into no other engagements ; to
 ' make no other alliances ; that in your friendship
 ' we should find abundant security ; and, if your
 ' empire should fall by a change of fortune, we
 ' too

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‘ too must be involved in the same ruin. By your
‘ own bravery, and the favour of the gods, you are
‘ still great and mighty ; all your undertakings
‘ are crowned with success, and every thing yields
‘ to your power ; so that you can, the more easily,
‘ redress the grievances of your allies. One thing only
‘ I am afraid of ; lest the favour of some persons here
‘ for Jugurtha, whom they little know, should give
‘ a wrong bias to their minds ; such, I hear, are
‘ making their utmost efforts in his behalf ; and
‘ importuning particular senators not to come to
‘ any resolution against him, in his absence, without
‘ hearing his defence ; alledging that my grievances
‘ are all pretended, and that I was under no neces-
‘ sity of flying, but might have continued with
‘ safety in my own kingdom.

‘ O that I could but see him, by whose enormous
‘ cruelty I am reduced to this degree of wretched-
‘ ness, practising such simulation ; and that either
‘ you or the immortal gods, would, for once, take
‘ human affairs under your care, that he who now
‘ boasts and triumphs in his crimes, may atone,
‘ by extreme tortures, for his monstrous ingrati-
‘ tude to my father, the murder of my brother, and
‘ the evils he has made me suffer.

‘ And now, O my dearest brother, though thou
‘ wert cut off, in the flower of thy days, by the
‘ hands of one, who, of all men, should have been
‘ the last to have done it ; yet I think thy fate ra-
‘ ther matter of joy than of grief ; for by thy fall,
‘ thou didst not so much lose thy kingdom, as es-
‘ cape the hardships of flight, banishment, poverty,
‘ and all the calamities which oppress me. But I,
‘ wretched and forlorn, driven from the throne of
‘ my ancestors into an abyss of misery, afford a
‘ rueful spectacle of the uncertainty of human af-
‘ fairs ;

‘fairs ; know not what course to take, whether I
‘shall revenge thy wrongs, whilst I myself stand in
‘need of assistance ; or whether I shall attempt the
‘recovery of my kingdom, when my death or life
‘depends on the power of others. I could wish it
‘were honourable to put an end to my misery, by
‘a voluntary death ; to prevent that infamy, which
‘must necessarily fall upon me, if, sinking under
‘the weight of my afflictions, I should tamely sub-
‘mit to injustice. Now, as I have no inclination
‘to live, and yet cannot die but with dishonour, I
‘adjure you, conscript fathers, by yourselves, by
‘your children and parents, by the majesty of the
‘Roman people, succour me in my distress, curb
‘haughty oppression, and suffer not the kingdom
‘of Numidia, which is your own, to fall a prey to
‘an usurper, and to be stained with the blood of our
‘family.’

When the king had made an end of speaking, the deputies from Jugurtha, trusting more to their money, than the justice of their cause, made a short reply, ‘that Hiempfal had been put to death
‘by the Numidians for his cruelty ; that Atherbal,
‘after he had made war without any provocation,
‘and was defeated, complained, that he could not
‘execute his schemes of oppression ; that Jugurtha
‘begged of the senate, not to believe him changed
‘from what they had known him at Numantia, nor
‘to regard the words of an enemy more than his
‘own actions.’ Then both parties withdrew, and the affair was immediately debated.

The patrons of the deputies, and a great many more, corrupted by their influence, disregarded what Atherbal had said ; highly extolled Jugurtha’s bravery ; and by their interest, their pleadings, and indeed every other possible method, endeavoured as strenuously to defend the crimes and
infamy

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infamy of another, as if it had been in support of their own reputation. On the other hand, there were a few, who, preferring justice and equity to money, gave it as their opinion, that Atherbal should be assisted, and ample vengeance taken for Hiempsal's death. He who distinguished himself most in support of this opinion, was *Æmilius Scaurus*, a man of high rank, active, factious, passionate for power, honour, and riches, but one who concealed his vices very artfully. This man perceiving that Jugurtha's money was distributed in a shameless and notorious manner; and fearing lest such barefaced bribery should, as is usual on the like occasions, raise publick odium, restrained his passion for money.

That party, however, prevailed in the senate, which preferred money and favour to truth and equity; and it was decreed, that ten commissioners should divide the kingdom, which *Micipsa* had possessed, between Jugurtha and Atherbal. The principal person in the commission was *L. Opimius*, a man of eminence, and great authority in the senate, because, when consul, he had put to death *C. Gracchus* and *M. Fulvius*, and avenged the nobility upon the commons with great fury. Jugurtha, though he knew this senator was his friend at Rome, yet received him with the most solicitous respect; and, by great presents and ample promises, brought him to sacrifice honour, reputation, and in a word, every thing else, to his interest. He applied to the other commissioners in the same manner, and succeeded with most of them: some few indeed there were who set a higher value upon their honour than money. In the division of the kingdom, that part of Numidia which borders upon Mauritania, and is the most fertile and populous, was assigned to Jugurtha. Atherbal had the other, which was

indeed better furnished with ports, and fine buildings, but of greater beauty than importance.

My subject here seems to require of me a short account of the situation of Africa, and of those nations with whom we have had war or alliance. As for those other countries, which excessive heats, the difficulty of travelling, and vast deserts, have made less frequented, I shall say nothing at all; it being very difficult to meet with any certain information concerning them. My account of the rest I shall dispatch with all possible brevity.

In the division of the globe, most authors reckon Africa a third part of the whole; there being but few who divide it into Asia and Europe, and include Africa in Europe. It is bounded on the west by the Streights, which join our sea to the ocean; on the east, by spacious sloping plains, by the natives called Catabathmos. The sea of Africa is tempestuous, and without harbours; the soil is fruitful in grain, and good for pasture, but produces few trees; here it seldom rains, and there are but few springs of water. The natives have hale bodies, are remarkable for their agility, and can endure much fatigue: most of them die of old age, except such as are destroyed by the sword or wild beasts; for few of them are cut off by diseases: noxious animals they have in great numbers.

Concerning the original inhabitants of Africa, and such as settled in it afterwards, with the manner of their uniting together, I shall here give a short account, different indeed from the common one, but such as was interpreted to me out of the Carthaginian books, said to be those of king Himpsal, and agreeable to the opinion of the natives them-

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themselves ; but for the truth of the relation let the authors be accountable.

Africa was at first possessed by the Getulians and Libyans, a savage and unpolished people, who lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, or fed upon the herbs of the field, like cattle ; subject to no laws, discipline, or government : without any fixed habitation ; wandering from place to place, and taking up their abode wherever night overtook them. But when Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans think he did, his army, made up of diverse nations, having lost their general, and many competitors arising for the command, dispersed in a short time. Those that were Medes, Persians, and Armenians, sailed over into Africa, and took possession of those places that lie upon our sea. But the Persians settled nearer the ocean ; and they made houses to themselves of their ships turned upside down, because there was no timber in the country, nor had they an opportunity of importing it from Spain, having no commerce with that nation, on account of its great distance from them by sea, and their language, which was not understood there. These, by degrees, mixed with the Getulians, by inter-marriages ; and because they were constantly shifting from place to place, trying the goodness of the soil, they called themselves Numidians. The houses of the Numidian peasants, which they call mapalia, are still like the hulls of ships, of an oblong form, with coverings rising in the middle, and bending at each end.

The Libyans, who lived near the African sea, mingled with the Medes and Armenians ; for the Getulians lay more to the sun, almost under the equinoctial line. The Libyans built cities very soon ; for being separated from Spain only by the Streights,

they exchanged commodities with that country. By degrees they corrupted the name of the Medes, calling them, in their barbarous language, Moors. Now the Persians soon became a powerful people, and multiplied so greatly, that the youth, leaving their parents, on account of their vast numbers, and retaining their new name of Numidians, took possession of the country bordering upon Carthage, which is still called Numidia. Afterwards assisting each other, they reduced their neighbours, either by the terror, or force of their arms, under their dominion, and thus acquired great glory and reputation, especially those who advanced farthest along our sea-coast; because the Libyans were less warlike than the Getulians. At last almost all lower Africa was possessed by the Numidians, and the conquered nations, forming but one people with the conquerors, went by the same name.

Afterwards the Phœnicians came; some of whom left their homes, to ease their country, which was overstocked with inhabitants; others were prompted by ambition, and engaged the populace, and such as were fond of novelty, to follow them. They built Hippo, Adrumetum, Leptis, and other cities on the sea coast; which growing powerful in a short time, proved, some of them a defence, others, an honour, to their mother cities. For, as to Carthage, I think it is better to be altogether silent, than to say but little; besides, it is time to return to my subject.

From the plains of Catabathmos then, which separate Egypt from Africa, as we go along the sea-coast, the first city is Cyrene, a colony from Thera. Next to this are the two Syrtes, with Leptis between them; then the altars of the Phileni, which bound the Carthaginian empire on the side of Egypt; and after-

afterwards other Punic cities. The rest of Africa, as far as Mauritania, is possessed by the Numidians: The Moors are nearest to Spain. Above Numidia, as I have been informed, are the Getuli, who live, some of them, in huts, while others wander about, without any fixed abode. Beyond them are the Ethiopians; and then countries scorched by the heat of the sun. In the war with Jugurtha, the Romans had governors of their own in most of the Punic cities, and those places which had been lately subject to Carthage. Great part of the Getulians were under Jugurtha; and the Numidians too, as far as the river Mulucha. The Moors were all subject to Bocchus, who knew nothing of the Romans but the name; nor was he known to them before, either in war or peace. I have now said enough of Africa and its inhabitants for my purpose.

After Numidia was divided by the Roman commissioners, and they returned home; when Jugurtha, contrary to his fears, saw himself rewarded for his crimes, he was fully persuaded of the truth of what he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that all things were to be bought at Rome; and being encouraged too by the promises of those, whom he had loaded with presents, he resolved to seize Atherbal's kingdom. He was himself, indeed, of a daring disposition, and an excellent soldier; but he, whose destruction he aimed at, was quiet, spiritless, of a meek temper, obnoxious to insults, and more apt to be terrified, than to inspire terror. Accordingly, on a sudden, he invades his territories with a powerful body, takes many prisoners, cattle, and other booty, sets fire to his cities; and flying about with his cavalry from place to place, ravaged his country. He then returned into his own kingdom with all his forces, thinking that Atherbal would have recourse to arms for redress,
and

and thus furnish him with a pretext for war. But he, not looking upon himself as a match for Jugurtha at arms, and relying more upon the Roman friendship, than his own subjects, sent ambassadors to complain to Jugurtha of such outrages; and though they returned with an insulting answer, yet he determined to suffer any thing, rather than enter into a war, in which he had succeeded so badly before. This did not, however, allay the insatiable ambition of Jugurtha, who had already, in his mind, taken possession of Atherbal's kingdom. Therefore he began now to make war, not as before, at the head of a band of plunderers, but with a great army, and openly aimed at the sovereignty of all Numidia; wherever he marched, he took cities, laid waste the country, committed universal depredation, and did every thing to inspire his men with courage, and strike terror into the enemy.

Atherbal, finding that he must either quit his kingdom, or defend it by arms, submitted to necessity, and raising forces, marched against Jugurtha: so that both armies encamped near the city Cirta, not far from the sea; but, as the evening approached, they did not engage. When night was almost past, and day began to dawn, Jugurtha's men, upon a signal given, broke into the enemy's camp, and falling upon them, whilst some were scarce awake, and others just taking their arms, put them to flight. Atherbal, with a few horse, made his escape to Cirta; and was so closely pursued, that if the Italians, in great numbers, had not repulsed the Numidians from the walls, the war between the two kings had been begun and ended in the same day. Jugurtha, upon this, laid close siege to the town, and, by towers, moving galleries, and engines of all sorts, strove to take it; being

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being desirous to be master of it, before the ambassadors, who he heard were sent to Rome before the battle, should arrive there. But, as soon as the senate had notice of the war, they dispatched three ambassadors, all young men, with orders to go to each of the kings, and acquaint them, that it was the pleasure and appointment of the senate and people of Rome, they should quit their arms, and decide their differences by law rather than the sword; that thus they would act as the dignity of Rome, and their own interests, required.

The ambassadors arrived quickly in Africa, making the greater dispatch, because, whilst they were preparing to depart, a report both of the engagement and siege of Cirta reached Rome; but this report was but little credited. Jugurtha, upon hearing their commission, replied, 'that nothing was more sacred, nothing dearer to him, than the authority of the senate; that from his youth he had endeavoured to merit the approbation of every person of eminent worth; that he had gained the friendship of Scipio, that excellent man, by his virtuous conduct, not by infamous arts: that Micipsa had, in consideration of his good qualities, and not for want of children, adopted him joint-heir with his own sons to the kingdom. But the braver and more deserving his conduct had been, the less could his spirit bear with insults. That Atherbal had laid snares for his life, which when he discovered, he endeavoured to defeat: that the Roman people would neither act a just nor a wise part, if they denied him the common right of nations: finally, that he would quickly send deputies to Rome, to satisfy them concerning all his proceedings.'

With

With this answer the ambassadors departed, without being allowed access to Atherbal. Jugurtha, when he thought they had left Africa, perceiving it impossible to take Cirta by assault, on account of its natural strength, begirt it with a trench and rampart, raised towers, and filled them with armed men. He likewise tried day and night all possible methods both of force and stratagem; one while tempting the besieged with promises, another endeavouring to terrify them by his threats; constantly animating his men, and pushing every necessary measure with the utmost diligence. Atherbal, finding his affairs in extreme danger, his enemy determined on his ruin, no hopes of succour, and that the war could not be continued long for want of provisions, chose two of the most active and resolute of those, who fled with him to Cirta, and prevailed upon them, by great promises, and an affecting representation of his distress, to venture in the night time, through the enemy's lines, to the next shore, and from thence to Rome. The Numidians in a few days executed their orders. Atherbal's letter was read in the senate; and was to this effect.

' It is not my fault, conscript fathers, that I
' make such frequent application to you, it is the
' violence of Jugurtha that forces me to it, who is
' so resolutely determined upon my destruction, that
' he pursues it without regarding your resentment,
' or that of the immortal gods themselves. He
' prefers my blood to every other consideration;
' in so much that I, though a friend and ally of
' the Roman people, have been besieged by him al-
' most five months; nor does the generosity of my
' father Micipsa to him, nor the authority of your
' decrees, avail any thing towards my relief. Whe-
' ther

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'ther famine or the sword presses hardest upon me,
 'I am unable to say. My wretched situation dis-
 'courage me from writing at greater length con-
 'cerning Jugurtha ; having learned by experience,
 'how little credit is given to the miserable : this
 'however I will venture to add, that I am sensible
 'he aims at something beyond my ruin, and that
 'he can never expect to enjoy my kingdom, and
 'your friendship ; which of these he prefers to the
 'other, can be a secret to none. For first he mur-
 'dered my brother Hiempsal, then drove me from
 'my father's kingdom. Let these, however, be
 'considered as injuries done to our family, and no
 'ways affecting you ; yet now he keeps by force a
 'kingdom that is yours, and besieges me, who was
 'appointed by you king of the Numidians. How
 'much he regarded the orders you sent him by
 'your deputies, my dangers abundantly shew. What
 'remains then, but that you have recourse to force,
 'which alone can move him ? As for me, I could
 'wish, that what I write at present, and what I
 'formerly complained of before the senate, was al-
 'together groundless, rather than it should be ve-
 'rified by my sufferings. But since I was born to
 'be a spectacle of Jugurtha's cruelty, I do not beg
 'to be rescued from death or distress, but only from
 'falling into his hands, and from the tortures that
 'are prepared for me. Dispose of the kingdom of
 'Numidia, which is your own, as you judge most
 'proper ; but I conjure you by the majesty of the
 'Roman empire, and by the faith of friendship and
 'alliance, deliver me from the impious hands of
 'Jugurtha, if you have any regard for the memory
 'of my grandfather Masinissa.'

Upon reading this letter, there were some sena-
 tors who proposed, that an army should be sent
 into Africa, and succours dispatched to Atherbal
 with

with all expedition; and that Jugurtha's disobedience to their orders should be forthwith taken into consideration. But the king's advocates strenuously opposed such measures; and thus the publick good, as is generally the case, was sacrificed to private interest. Ambassadors were chosen, however, to be sent into Africa, men of age and dignity, who had borne the highest offices of the state; amongst whom was M. Scaurus, whom we have already mentioned, a man of consular dignity, and at that time prince of the senate. These, observing that the publick odium was great against Jugurtha, and being pressed by the Numidians to make all possible haste, embarked in three days, and arriving soon at Utica, wrote to Jugurtha, 'to come directly into the Roman province; for that they had orders to him from the senate.'

When he found that men of such eminence and authority at Rome were come to oppose his designs, he was distracted between fear and ambition. On the one hand, he dreaded the resentment of the senate, if he did not obey their deputies; on the other, his eager passion for power hurried him on to the execution of his wicked undertaking. At last ambition prevailed; and surrounding Cirta with all his army, he made a general assault, labouring with all his might to break into it; as he hoped, by dividing the enemy's forces, to have a chance for victory, either by force or artifice. But this attempt miscarrying, and finding that his great aim of getting Atherbal into his possession, before he met the deputies, could not be effected, he came with a few horse into the Roman province, that he might not, by longer delay, incense Scaurus, of whom he stood in great awe. Upon his arrival, though the deputies, in the name of the senate, denounced grievous threatnings against him, for continuing

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tinuing the siege ; yet, after a long debate, they departed without success.

When an account of this was brought to Cirta, the Italians, by whose bravery the town was defended, persuading themselves that their persons would not be violated after a surrender, in consideration of the Roman power, advised Atherbal to deliver himself and the town to Jugurtha, without insisting on any conditions, but that of having his own life ; as the senate would take care of every thing else. Atherbal, though he was very sensible that nothing was less to be depended upon than Jugurtha's word, yet considering, that it was in the power of those who advised him to force him to a compliance, in case of refusal, yielded to the proposal of the Italians and surrendered. Upon which Jugurtha put Atherbal to death immediately upon the rack ; and then slaughtered all the Numidian youth and foreign merchants without distinction.

When this was known at Rome, and began to be debated in the senate, the king's former advocates, by their intrigues, by their interest with particular senators, and often by protracting the time in long speeches, endeavoured to qualify the horror of his crimes ; and had not C. Memmius, tribune of the people elect, a man of spirit, and a declared enemy to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people, that the design of all this was, to procure impunity to Jugurtha for his crimes, by means of a faction, the publick indignation against him would undoubtedly have vanished by their studied delays ; so powerfully did favour and the king's money operate. But the senate, through a consciousness of the injustice of their proceeding, began to dread the resentment of the people, and complying with the Sempronian law, decreed Numidia-

midia and Italy the provinces of the next consuls, who were declared to be P. Scipio Nasica, and L. Bestia Calpurnius. To the former of these Italy fell, and to the latter Numidia. Then an army was raised to be sent into Africa, and a decree was made for the payment of it, and for every thing necessary to carry on the war.

When Jugurtha heard this news, so contrary to his hopes, as he had a strong persuasion that every thing was to be had at Rome for money, he sent his son, and two of his intimate friends on an embassy to the senate, and ordered them, as he had formerly done those he sent after having murdered Hiempsal, to bribe all sorts of men. Upon their approach to Rome, Bestia consulted the senate, 'whether the deputies of Jugurtha should be admitted within the walls:' and it was decreed, 'that unless they came to surrender Jugurtha and his kingdom, they must depart out of Italy within ten days.' This the consul, by the senate's orders, signified to the Numidians; and thus they returned without doing any thing.

Calpurnius, in the mean time, having raised an army, chose for his lieutenant-generals persons of quality and intrigue, whose authority he hoped would support him in whatever he might do amiss; amongst whom was Scaurus, of whose temper and character we have already given an account. The consul himself had indeed many excellent endowments both of body and mind, but avarice rendered them all useless: he was hardy, of great penetration and foresight, well skilled in war, and not to be moved by dangers or surprize. The legions marched through Italy to Rhegium, where they embarked for Sicily, and from thence were transported to Africa; so that Calpurnius, who had
early

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early provided himself with all necessaries, entered Numidia with great vigour, took a great number of prisoners, and several cities by storm. But when Jugurtha began, by his deputies, to tempt him with money, and to lay before him the difficulties of the war in which he was engaged, his soul, sick with avarice, was easily softened. He took Scaurus, however, as his partner and adviser in all his schemes; who, though he had, at first, vigorously opposed the king, even when most of his party were already corrupted, was nevertheless prevailed upon, by a vast sum of money, to desert the cause of honour and equity, for that of oppression and injustice.

Jugurtha, at first, only purchased a suspension of the war, flattering himself, that, in the mean time, he should succeed at Rome, either by favour or money; but hearing that Scaurus was engaged in his interest, he conceived high hopes of obtaining peace, and determined to treat with him in person concerning the terms of it. In the mean time, to remove any apprehensions of danger from his coming, the consul sent Sextius the Quæstor to Vacca, where Jugurtha was; but under pretence of receiving corn, which Calpurnius had publicly ordered the deputies to provide, since a truce was granted, till a surrender should be made. Jugurtha, at last, came into the camp, as he had determined; and after a short speech to the council of officers, to lessen the odium of his crimes, he proposed to deliver himself up. The terms he afterwards settled privately with Bestia and Scaurus; and was, the day after, admitted to a surrender, as if the matter had been concluded in due form by a majority of voices. Accordingly thirty elephants, some cattle, with a great number of horses, and a small sum of money, were, agreeably to the order of the council, delivered to the quæstor.

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Calpurnius goes to Rome, to assist at the election of magistrates: all being quiet in Numidia, and in our army there.

When the transactions in Africa, and the manner of proceeding there, came to be known at Rome, the behaviour of the consul was the subject of conversation in all companies; the people were filled with indignation, and the senate with perplexity; not knowing whether they should ratify so dishonourable a treaty, or make void the ordinance of the consul. The authority of Scaurus, who was said to be the adviser and associate of Bestia, was what principally diverted them from acting a just and honourable part. While the senate was thus in suspense, C. Memmius, whose freedom of spirit, and sworn enmity to the power of the nobility, we have already mentioned, stirred up the people in their assemblies, to revenge their own wrongs; warned them, not to desert the interests of the publick and their own liberty; laid before them many instances of the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of the nobility, and used every possible method to inflame the minds of the populace against them.

Now, as the eloquence of Memmius was, at that time, in great reputation, and of great influence at Rome, I have thought proper to transcribe one of his speeches, out of many; and, above all others, that which he made to an assembly of the people, after the return of Bestia, in the following strain.

‘ If my zeal for the publick good did not bear
 ‘ down every other consideration, Romans, there are
 ‘ many motives to dissuade me from adhering to
 ‘ your interests; motives great and powerful! the
 ‘ strength of the opposite party; your tameness of
 ‘ spirit;

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‘ spirit; the universal prevalence of injustice; and
‘ above all, innocence rather exposed to danger,
‘ than crowned with honour. For it really gives
‘ me pain to relate, with what insolent scorn you
‘ have been treated, by a few great men, for these
‘ fifteen years! how basely your great champions
‘ have been suffered to perish unrevenged! how your
‘ former spirit is sunk through indolence and effe-
‘ minacy, who, even now, when your enemies are
‘ at your mercy, do not stir against them; and are,
‘ even now, afraid of those, to whom you should
‘ be a terror! But notwithstanding all this, my
‘ spirit obliges me to oppose the power of the fac-
‘ tion; nor will I fail to use that liberty which is
‘ transmitted to me by my father: but whether with,
‘ or without success, depends entirely upon you, O
‘ Romans. Not that I advise you to redress your
‘ wrongs by arms, as your ancestors have often
‘ done; no, there is no need of violence, none of
‘ leaving the city; since they must certainly ruin
‘ themselves by their own proceedings. After the
‘ murder of Tiberius Gracchus, who was charged
‘ by them with having aimed at the sovereignty,
‘ the severest cruelties were exercised towards the
‘ Roman people. After C. Gracchus and M. Ful-
‘ vius were put to death, many of your body pe-
‘ rished in prison; nor was it law, but their own
‘ good pleasure, that put an end to both these mas-
‘ sacres. But, let restoring the people their rights
‘ pass for aiming at the sovereignty; let it be dee-
‘ med lawful to remedy what could not otherwise be
‘ remedied than by shedding the blood of Roman
‘ citizens! you have, for several years, with secret
‘ indignation, beheld the treasury robbed; beheld
‘ kings and free nations pay tribute to a few of the
‘ nobles; and those few adorned with publick ho-
‘ nours, and possessed of immense wealth. Nay,
‘ looking upon the commission of such enormities

' with impunity as but a small matter ; they have
 ' at last betrayed your laws, your majesty, every thing
 ' divine and human, into the hands of your ene-
 ' mies. Nor for all this are they touched with re-
 ' morse or shame ; no, they appear in public with
 ' great pomp, displaying their sacerdotal dignities,
 ' their consulships, their triumphs, as if these dig-
 ' nities, possessed by them, were really honourable,
 ' and not marks of their usurpation. Slaves bought
 ' with money do not submit to the unjust commands
 ' of their masters, and can you, Romans, who
 ' are born to command, tamely submit to fla-
 ' very ?

' But who are they who have seized upon the
 ' commonwealth ? the most profligate of all men ;
 ' their hands dyed with the blood of their fellow-
 ' citizens ; men of boundless avarice, of enormous
 ' guilt, and matchless pride ; men who turn honour,
 ' faith, publick spirit, and, in short, whatever is
 ' just or unjust, into gain. Some of them owe
 ' their security to their having murdered your tri-
 ' bunes, others to lawless prosecutions, and most of
 ' them to their having shed your blood : so that
 ' they who have done you the greatest wrong are in
 ' the greatest safety ; and instead of being afraid of
 ' punishment at your hands for their numerous
 ' crimes, from your cowardice they make you afraid
 ' of them. As their desires, their aversions, their
 ' fears are the same, they are closely united toge-
 ' ther ; now such a conformity of inclinations
 ' among good men is friendship, but faction, when
 ' found among the wicked.

' But were you as much concerned for the prefer-
 ' vation of your liberty, as they are for establishing
 ' their tyranny, the commonwealth would not be
 ' torn in pieces as it now is, and your favours, in-
 ' stead

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‘stead of being conferred on the most audacious,
‘would be bestowed on the most deserving. Your
‘ancestors twice withdrew from the city, to mount
‘Aventine, in arms, in order to assert their rights,
‘and establish their dignity : and will not you labour
‘with all your might to maintain the liberty
‘they have transmitted to you ? nay, will not you labour
‘with the greater zeal, as it is more dishonour-
‘able to lose what has been acquired, than not to
‘have acquired it at all ?

‘Here some will ask me, what then would
‘you have done ? I answer, I would have those punished,
‘who have betrayed the commonwealth to
‘an enemy ; not by force or violence, a method
‘of punishment, which, tho’ they deserve, yet does
‘not become your dignity to inflict ; but by a legal
‘prosecution, and the evidence of Jugurtha himself :
‘who, if he has really surrendered himself,
‘will obey your commands ; but if he despises them,
‘you may then judge what kind of peace or surrender
‘it is, from whence Jugurtha derives impunity
‘for his crimes, a few great men immense
‘wealth, and the state nothing but loss and infamy.
‘But perhaps you are not as yet satiated with the
‘tyranny of these men, and are best pleased with
‘those times, when kingdoms, provinces, law, the
‘administration of justice, war and peace, in a
‘word, every thing divine and human, were at the
‘disposal of a few ; while you, the Roman people,
‘always invincible, and lords of the world, were
‘humbly content to be allowed to live. For was
‘there a man of you, who had spirit to refuse the
‘yoke ? As for me, though I look upon it as very
‘dishonourable to a man, tamely to bear ill usage ;
‘yet I should patiently see you pardon the most
‘guilty criminals, because they are your fellow citizens,

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'zens, were it not, that your compassion would
'prove your own certain ruin.

'Such, indeed, is the mischievous spirit of these
'men, that to pardon their past crimes will signify
'little to you, if you do not deprive them of power
'to repeat them; and nothing will remain to you
'but continual anxiety, when you find that you
'must either be slaves, or preserve your liberty by
'force. For what hope is there of mutual faith
'and concord between them and you? they desire
'to be lords, you to be free: they to oppress you,
'you to defend yourselves: in a word, they use
'your allies like enemies, your enemies like allies.
'Can peace or friendship possibly subsist between per-
'sons of such opposite dispositions?

'Wherefore I advise and exhort you, not to suffer
'such enormous villainy to go unpunished. It is
'not the robbing of the treasury, nor extorting
'money from your allies, that now come under
'your consideration; crimes, which however hei-
'nous, yet are become so common, that they pass
'for nothing. It is the authority of the senate, it
'is your own mighty power that is betrayed to a
'very terrible enemy, and the commonwealth ex-
'posed to sale both at home and abroad. Which
'crimes unless you prosecute, and take vengeance
'upon the guilty, what remains but to live the
'slaves of those who committed them? for to do
'with impunity what one pleases, is being a
'king.

'I do not hereby mean, O Romans, to encourage
'you to wish, that these your fellow-citizens may be
'found to have acted basely rather than honour-
'ably; but only warn you, not to ruin the good
'and deserving, by pardoning the wicked. Be-
'sides,

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‘sides, it is much wiser in any government to forget services rather than wrongs : for a good man by being neglected, becomes only more indolent ; whereas a bad man grows still worse. Let me add, if injuries are prevented, you will seldom stand in need of assistance.’

By this and the like speeches, C. Memmius persuaded the Roman people to send L. Cassius, who was then prætor, to Jugurtha, and bring him to Rome upon the publick faith ; that, by his evidence, Scaurus, and the rest, who were charged with betraying their trust for money, might be clearly convicted. Whilst these measures were pursuing at Rome, the officers, whom Bestia had left with the command of the army at Numidia, in imitation of their general's conduct, committed many and infamous crimes. Some, for a sum of money, restored Jugurtha his elephants ; others sold him his deserters ; and some plundered the provinces at peace with the Romans ; such was the violence of avarice, which, like a plague, had taken possession of their minds.

The prætor Cassius, in consequence of this ordinance of the people, procured by Memmius, to the great surprize of the nobility, went to Jugurtha, and persuaded him, though sore afraid, and, from a consciousness of his guilt, diffident of his cause, ‘that, since he had already delivered himself up to the Roman people, he should try their mercy rather than their power.’ He likewise engaged to him his own faith, which Jugurtha reckoned as strong a security as that of the public. Such at that time was the reputation of Cassius.

Jugurtha, accordingly came to Rome with Cassius ; yet without any regal pomp, and dressed in

such a manner as to excite pity. But though he was himself of an intrepid spirit, and was moreover encouraged by assurances from those, in reliance upon whose power and villainy he had committed the abovementioned crimes ; yet, by a vast sum of money he secured the assistance of C. Bæbius, tribune of the people, one who had impudence enough to protect him against all law, and all manner of injuries.

When an assembly of the people was called by Memmius, though they were so highly exasperated against Jugurtha, that some of them were for putting him in irons, others, for putting him to death, like a publick enemy, according to the ancient usage, unless he discovered his associates ; yet Memmius, more concerned for their dignity, than the gratification of their fury, endeavoured to calm the tumult, and soften their minds, and declared that he would take care that the publick faith should not be violated. At last, having obtained silence, and ordered Jugurtha to be brought before the assembly, he proceeded in his speech, recounted all his wicked actions, both in Rome and Numidia ; laid open his unnatural behaviour to his father and brothers ; adding, that the Roman people, though they were not ignorant by whom he had been aided and supported, still desired full information of the whole from himself. If he declared the truth, he had much to hope from the faith and clemency of the Roman people : but if he concealed it, he would not save his friends by so doing, but ruin himself and his hopes forever.

When Memmius had made an end of speaking, and Jugurtha was ordered to reply, the tribune Bæbius, who had been secured by a sum of money, as we have already mentioned, desired him to be silent :

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lent : and though the people there assembled were highly incensed, and endeavoured to frighten him with their cries, with angry looks, nay and often with violence, and every other method which indignation inspires, yet his impudence triumphed over it all. The people departed, after being thus mocked : Jugurtha, Bestia, and the rest, who were at first terribly afraid of this prosecution, assumed greater courage.

There was at this juncture, a certain Numidian at Rome, called Massiva, the son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa, who, having taken part against Jugurtha, in the war between the three kings, had fled out of Africa, upon the surrender of Cirta, and the murder of Atherbal. Sp. Albinus, who with Q. Minucius Rufus succeeded Bestia in the consulship, persuaded this man to apply to the senate for the kingdom of Numidia ; as he was descended from Masinissa, and Jugurtha the object of publick abhorrence, on account of his crimes, and alarmed with daily fears of the punishment he deserved. The consul, who was very fond of having the management of the war, was more desirous that the publick disturbances should be continued than composed. The province of Numidia had fallen to him, and Macedonia to his colleague. When Massiva began to prosecute his claim, Jugurtha, finding that he could not rely upon the assistance of his friends, some of whom were seized with remorse, others restrained by the bad opinion the public had of them, and by their fears, ordered Bomilcar, who was his faithful friend and confident, ‘ to engage persons to murder Massiva for money, by which he had accomplished many things ; and to do it by private means, if possible, but if these were ineffectual, by any means whatever.’

Bomilcar quickly executed the king's orders, and by employing proper instruments, discovered his places of resort, his set times, and all his motions; and, when matters were ripe, laid a scheme for the assassination. One of those, who were to put the murder in execution, attacked Massiva and slew him, but so imprudently, that he was himself apprehended, and being urged by many, especially by the consul Albinus, confessed all. Bomilcar was arraigned, more agreeably to reason and justice, than to the law of nations; for he accompanied Jugurtha, who came to Rome upon the public faith. Jugurtha, though clearly guilty of so foul a crime, did not however give over endeavouring to bear down the force of truth, till he perceived that the horror of his guilt was such, as to baffle all the power of favour or money. Upon which, though he had upon the prosecution of Bomilcar, given fifty of his friends as sureties for his standing his trial, he sent him privately to Numidia; being more concerned for his kingdom than his friends: for he was afraid, were this favourite to be punished, lest the rest of his subjects should be discouraged from obeying him. In a few days he himself followed, being ordered by the senate to depart out of Italy. When he left Rome, it is reported, that having frequently looked back to it without saying any thing, he at last broke out into these words, 'a venal city, and ripe for destruction, when a purchaser can be found.'

The war being now revived, Albinus made haste to transport into Africa, money, provisions, and every thing necessary for the use of the army; and soon after followed himself, that he might put an end to the war, either by defeating the enemy, by obliging Jugurtha to surrender, or by any other means,

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means, before the time for election of magistrates, which was near at hand. Jugurtha, on the contrary, endeavoured to protract time, and was continually finding fresh pretences for delay; one while he promised to surrender; another he feigned distrust; when the enemy pressed him, he gave way; and soon after left his men should be discouraged, he attacked them in his turn. Thus did he baffle the consul by an alternate course of hostilities and proposals of peace. Some there were at that time who imagined that Albinus was not ignorant of the king's designs, and who could not believe, that the protracting of the war after such vigorous preparations, was so much owing to inactivity as to fraud.

The time being elapsed, and the elections at hand, Albinus went to Rome, leaving his brother Aulus to command in the camp as prætor. The commonwealth was at this time terribly agitated by the contentions of the tribunes of the people. Two of these, P. Lucullus and L. Annius, endeavoured to continue in their office, notwithstanding the opposition of all their colleagues; which contest kept off the election for a whole year. Upon this delay Aulus, who was left pro prætor in the camp, as we have already related, conceiving hopes of either terminating the war, or, by the terror of his army, obliging the king to give him a sum of money, drew his men out of their winter-quarters in the month of January, and by long marches, under the rigours of the season, reached Suthul, where the king's treasure lay. The sharpness of the weather, and the situation of this place rendered it impossible to take, or even to besiege it; for, besides its being built upon a steep rock, and strongly walled, the plains that surrounded it were turned into a perfect marsh by the winter rains. Notwithstanding all this, Aulus, either as a feint to frighten

frighten the king, or blinded by avarice, to make himself master of the town on account of the treasure, framed moving galleries, threw up trenches, and made all necessary preparations for a siege.

Jugurtha, perceiving the proprætor's ignorance and vanity, made use of several arts to encrease his madness and presumption ; frequently sent deputies to him with humble messages, whilst he himself, affecting fear, led his army thro' forests and narrow passes. At last, Aulus, in hopes that the king would surrender upon conditions, was tempted to quit Suthul and pursue him. Jugurtha, appearing to fly before him, by this means drew him into countries utterly unknown to him, the better to execute his own designs. In the mean time he employed cunning instruments day and night to debauch our army : bribing the centurions and officers of horse, some to desert to him, and others, upon a signal given, to quit their posts. Having thus far pursued his schemes successfully, on a sudden, in the dead of night, he surrounded Aulus's camp with a great body of Numidians. The Roman soldiers, being struck with this alarm, some took their arms ; some hid themselves, and others encouraged those that were afraid. There was every where the greatest consternation : the number of the enemy was great, the night was dark and cloudy, and danger on every side ; in a word, it was impossible to determine, whether it was safest to maintain their ground or fly. Mean while, a cohort of Ligurians, two troops of Thracian horse, with a few common men, deserted to Jugurtha, by whom they had been corrupted, as we have already related ; and a centurion of the first rank, belonging to the third legion, opened a passage to the enemy into the camp, at which all the Numidians poured in, by delivering up a strong post, the defence of which was assigned him.

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him. Our men shamefully fled, and most of them throwing away their arms, took possession of a neighbouring hill.

Night, and the plunder of the camp, hindered the enemy from improving the victory. Next day, Jugurtha, at a conference with Aulus, told him, 'that, though both he and his troops were at his mercy, being hemmed in on all sides with sword and famine, yet, mindful of the inconstancy of human affairs, if he would conclude a treaty with him, he would dismiss them all unhurt; only making them pass under the yoke, and obliging them to quit Numidia in ten days.' The conditions, though very rigorous, and extremely dishonourable, were yet submitted to, as they were thereby all delivered from the fear of death; and a peace was concluded upon the king's terms.

When this was known at Rome, fear and sorrow seized all the city. Some were deeply concerned for the glory of the empire; others, unacquainted with war, trembled for their liberty; all were filled with indignation against Aulus, those especially who had distinguished themselves often by their bravery in war, that with arms in his hands, he should consult his safety rather by submitting shamefully than defending himself gallantly. The consul Albinus, dreading the publick odium, and thereby great danger, on account of his brother's infamous conduct, consulted the senate upon the treaty; yet, in the mean time, raised recruits for the army, sent for auxiliaries from the Latins and allies, and made all necessary preparations with the utmost diligence. The senate, as was fit they should, decreed, 'that without their authority and that of the people, no treaty could be concluded.' The consul, not being allowed by the tribunes of the people to transport
into

into Africa what forces he had raised, went thither himself in a few days without them: for the whole army, according to agreement, had quitted Numidia, and wintered in our province. Upon his arrival, though he had an eager desire to march against Jugurtha, and thereby lessen the publick odium, under which his brother had fallen, yet when he found that the courage of the soldiers was sunk by their late flight, and not only so, but that they were without discipline, extremely licentious and debauched, he resolved, after mature deliberation, to attempt nothing.

At Rome, in the mean time, C. Mamilius Limetanus one of the tribunes, proposed to the people to pass an ordinance, 'for arraigning those by whose encouragement Jugurtha had disobeyed the decrees of the senate; those who had received money from him, when sent as deputies to him, or trusted with the management of the war against him; those who had restored him his elephants and deserters; and likewise those who had taken upon them to enter into any engagements with the enemy relating to peace or war.' Such as were aimed at by this ordinance, not daring openly to oppose it, some through their consciousness of deserving it, others through fear of falling a sacrifice to the heat of party, professed to be pleased with it and the like proceedings; yet secretly endeavoured to prevent its passing, by means of their friends, especially the Latins, and the other Italian allies. But it is almost incredible how zealous the people were upon this occasion, and with what eagerness they voted, authorized, and passed the ordinance; more indeed out of hatred to the nobility, against whom it was levelled, than out of any regard to the welfare of the state: so violent was the fury of party.

Whilst

Whilst the rest were seized by fear, M. Scaurus, who had been lieutenant-general to Bestia, as above related, during the rejoicings of the people, the flight of those of his party, and the distraction of the city, got himself named one of the three commissioners, who were appointed by the ordinance of Mamilius to put it in execution. The prosecution followed, and was managed with great severity and violence, to gratify the mad humour and clamour of the people, who upon this occasion used their superiority with great insolence, as the nobility had often done.

The distinction of the people and senate into opposite parties, with all the mischievous practices consequent upon it, took its rise at Rome a few years before, and sprung from profound quiet, and the abundance of those things which men set the highest value upon. For, before the destruction of Carthage, the people and senate jointly governed the state with great moderation and harmony; the citizens had no contests with one another, on account of power and influence; fear of their enemies kept the state in good order: But when this fear was removed, pride and debauchery, the usual attendants of prosperity, poured in upon them. So that peace, which they so ardently wished for in the time of war and danger, when they obtained it, proved more fatal to them than either; for the nobility began to convert their dignity into tyranny, the people their liberty into licentiousness, and all, indeed, centering their views in themselves only, laboured to get as much power and property as they possibly could. Thus whilst each party strove to have all power in its hands, the commonwealth, which lay between both, was miserably rent. The faction of the nobility, however, prevailed; for the authority

thority of the people, being loose, and divided among a multitude, had less force; so that all affairs both at home and abroad, were managed by a few. They disposed of the treasury, provinces, magistracies, publick dignities and triumphs. The populace were oppressed by poverty and military service, while the generals, with a few great ones, engrossed all the spoils of victory: and even the parents and children of the soldiers were driven from their estates, if they happened to border upon any of the grandees. Thus did avarice, in conjunction with power, without moderation or restraint, invade, pollute, and lay waste every thing, disregarding what was just or sacred, till it rushed headlong to its own ruin. For as soon as there arose any from among the nobility, who preferred real glory to unjust power, the state was in an uproar, and such civil broils ensued, as if the universe had been dissolving.

For after Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whose ancestors had done signal service to the state, both in the Carthaginian and other wars, began to attempt the recovery of the people's rights, and to lay open the wickedness of a few great men; the nobility, being conscious of their guilt, and under terrible apprehensions, endeavoured to defeat their designs, sometimes by means of our Italian allies, and the Latin state; and sometimes by means of the Roman knights, whom the hopes of being admitted to a partnership in power with the nobility, had drawn off from the interests of the people. First they murdered Tiberius, whilst tribune of the people; and in a few years after Caius, who was pursuing his brother's measures, together with M. Fulvius Flaccus, both invested with the triumviral authority of planting colonies. And indeed the Gracchi, through an eager desire of carrying their point, did not act
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with moderation ; for it is better to yield, than to conquer opposition by unlawful means.

The nobility using the advantage they had gained according to their own wanton humour, put many citizens to death, banished others, and rendered themselves more terrible for the future, rather than more powerful ; a method of proceeding which has ruined many flourishing states ; whilst parties have endeavoured to conquer each other, and to treat the conquered with the utmost cruelty. But were I to enter into a minute detail of the views and animosities of our parties, with the conduct of our citizens, and treat so copious a subject in its full extent, time would fail me sooner than matter. I return then to my design.

After the treaty of Aulus, and the shameful flight of our army, Metellus and Silanus, consuls elect, shared the provinces between them, and Numidia fell to Metellus, a man of spirit, untainted reputation, and equally esteemed by both parties, tho' he opposed that of the people. As soon as he entered upon his office, considering that his colleague had an equal share of all the other duties of the consulship, he employed his thoughts wholly upon the war which he was to conduct. Accordingly, having little dependance upon the old army, he made new levies ; sent for auxiliaries from all parts ; provided arms, horses, and all other warlike implements, with great plenty of provisions, and, in a word, every thing necessary in a war, which required various management and many things to conduct it properly. In making these preparations, he was vigorously assisted by the senate, our allies, and those of the Latin state ; foreign princes too of their own accord sent him auxiliaries ; And, in short, the whole city supported him with the greatest zeal. When all things were furnished

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and regulated according to his wishes, he passed over into Numidia, leaving his fellow-citizens full of great hopes; not only on account of his many excellent qualities, but chiefly because he had a soul never to be subdued by money. For it was the avarice of our commanders, that till this time had ruined our affairs in Numidia, and rendered the enemy successful.

Upon his arrival in Africa, the army of the proconsul Spurius Albinus was delivered to him; but an army spiritless and unwarlike; incapable of sustaining danger or fatigue; readier to talk than to act; without any order or discipline; and accustomed to plunder our allies, whilst itself was the spoil of the enemy: So that the depravity of the soldiers occasioned the general more anxiety, than their numbers gave him either support or confidence. But though Metellus saw the summer far advanced, from the elections being put off, and considered that his fellow citizens were impatient for the issue; yet he determined not to enter upon action, till, by restoring the ancient discipline, he had enabled the soldiers to endure fatigue. For Albinus, struck with the disgrace of his brother Aulus, and the overthrow of his troops, having resolved not to stir out of the province, during so much of the summer as he commanded, kept the soldiers for the most part in the same camp, till stench or want of forage obliged him to remove. Besides, contrary to all the rules of war, no watch was kept in the camp; the men left their ensigns at pleasure: and the leaders, together with the soldiers, wandered abroad day and night, robbing the farms, pillaging the fields, and striving to exceed one another in carrying off cattle and captives, which they exchanged with the merchants for wine, and other such things; nay, they sold the corn that was allowed them by the state, and bought their bread

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bread from day to day. In a word, all the excesses of idleness and luxury that can either be expressed or imagined, prevailed in that army.

Metellus appears to me, to have approved himself as able and wise a man, by the manner in which he cured these great disorders, as by his conduct against the enemy; so just a medium did he observe between a servile desire to gain the affections of the soldiers, and a severity in punishing them. For by his first edict, he removed every thing that could administer to idleness, ordering, that none 'should sell bread, or any dressed victuals in the camp; that no sutlers should follow the army; and that no common soldier should have a servant, or any be fit of burden either in the camp, or on a march.' He made other regulations too with great judgment. Besides, he decamped daily, marching his army through crofs and difficult places; fortified his camp with a ditch and palisade, as if an enemy had been at hand; set guards, and changed them often; and went frequently round them all himself, attended by his lieutenant-generals. On a march too he was equally vigilant, appearing one while in the front, another in the rear, and often in the main body; to see that none quitted their ranks, that all kept close by their standards, and carried their own arms and provisions. Thus, in a short time, he restored discipline and vigour to his troops, rather by preventing abuses than punishing them.

Jugurtha, in the mean time, having learned from his emissaries, what measures were taken by Metellus, whose integrity he had been convinced of when at Rome, began to despair of success, and thought of surrendering himself in good earnest. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to the consul,

with power to deliver up all to the Romans, only stipulating for his own life, and that of his children. But Metellus, who had learned by experience that the Numidians were a faithless people, fickle and fond of change, applied to each of the ambassadors apart; and when, by sifting them, he found they were proper instruments for his purpose, he engaged them, by great promises, to deliver up Jugurtha to him, alive, if possible; if not, to bring him his head: and his answer to their embassy he gave them in public. In a few days after, he went into Numidia at the head of a resolute army, where he found none of the symptoms of war, but the country-houses full of inhabitants, flocks and herds feeding in the fields, and the husbandmen all at work. The king's officers came from the towns and cottages to meet him, offering to furnish him with carriages and provisions, and, in a word, to do whatever he should order them. Metellus, notwithstanding all this, was still upon his guard; marched with his ranks, as if the enemy had been at hand; and sent scouts to view the country a great way round, looking upon these marks of submission as contrived for shew only, and to draw him into an ambush. Wherefore he himself marched always in the front, with some light armed cohorts, and a select body of slingers and archers; leaving his lieutenant-general C. Marius at the head of the cavalry to bring up the rear. The auxiliary horse he placed on each wing, and gave the command of them to the tribunes of the legions, and the præfects of the cohorts, mixing with them the light armed foot, that the enemy's cavalry might be repulsed, on what side soever they made their attack. For Jugurtha had so much subtlety, so perfect a knowledge of the country, and such abilities in war, that it was uncertain, whether he was more mischievous

chievous when at a distance or near ; when making proposals for peace or openly engaged in war.

Not far from Metellus's rout, there was a city called Vacca, the most famous for commerce in all Numidia, very much frequented by Italians, who came to it for traffic, and many of whom had settled in it. The consul put a garrison into this place, either to try whether Jugurtha would bear with it, or because he was pleased with its situation ; and likewise ordered corn and other necessaries to be brought him : supposing, as was very natural for him to do, that his army would be abundantly supplied, from such a concourse of traders, and such plenty of provisions ; and that the place itself would be very convenient for executing the designs he had already formed. In the mean time Jugurtha renewed his applications to the consul with greater earnestness, still sending ambassadors to implore peace, and offering to deliver up all he had, without stipulating for any thing but his own life and that of his children. The consul having engaged these ambassadors, as he had the first, to betray their master, sent them back without either promising or denying the peace ; waiting, in the mean time, the execution of what they had undertaken.

When Jugurtha compared the words of Metellus with his actions, and found that his own arts were practised upon him, that whilst he was amused with the hopes of peace, he was warmly pursued with war ; when he saw that he had lost one of his strongest cities, that the enemy was well acquainted with his territories, and his subjects solicited to revolt ; being forced by his desperate situation, he determined to hazard a battle. Accordingly, having got intelligence of the enemy's rout, and conceiving

hopes of victory from the advantages which the country gave him, he raised a force as great as he could, and by private ways got before the army of Metellus.

In that part of Numidia, which, upon the division of it, fell to the share of Atherbal, was a river called Muthul flowing from the South; parallel to which, at the distance of about twenty miles, there was a mountain of equal length, desert and uncultivated. Between this mountain and the river, almost at an equal distance from each, rose a hill of prodigious height, covered with olives, myrtles, and other trees, such as grow in a dry and sandy soil: The intermediate plain was all desert for want of water, those parts only excepted which bordered upon the river, in which were many groves, and abundance of cattle and inhabitants. Jugurtha took possession of this hill, which flanked the Romans in their march to the river, extending his front as far as possible; and giving the command of the elephants and part of the foot to Bomilcar, with orders how to act, he posted himself with all the horse and the choicest of the foot, nearer the mountain. Then he rode round the several squadrons and battalions, conjuring them ‘ to summon
‘ up their former bravery, and mindful of their late
‘ victory, to defend themselves and their country
‘ from the Roman avarice. They were to engage
‘ with those, whom they had already vanquished,
‘ and forced to pass under the yoke: and who had
‘ only changed their general but not their spirit.
‘ As for himself, he had done all that was incumbent upon a general to do; had secured to them
‘ the advantages of the ground, which they were
‘ well acquainted with, and the enemy a stranger
‘ to; and had taken care not to expose them to an
‘ unequal engagement with an enemy superior in
‘ num-

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‘number or skill: they should therefore, when the signal was given, fall vigorously upon the Romans; this day would either crown their former toils and victories, or be a prelude to the most grievous calamities.’ Besides, addressing himself singly to such as he had rewarded with honours or money for their gallant behaviour, he put them in mind of his favours, and proposed them to others as patterns for their imitation. In a word, he applied to all, in a manner suited to the disposition of each, and by promises, threatnings and intreaties roused their courage.

In the mean time, Metellus descending from the mountain with his army, without knowing any thing of the enemy's motions, discovered them upon the hill. At first he did not know what to think of so strange an appearance; for the Numidian horse and foot were posted among the bushes, by reason of the lowness of which they were neither altogether covered, nor yet intirely discerned: the obscurity of the place, and their own artificial posture preventing them from being clearly seen: but soon finding that it was an ambush, he made his army halt a little, and altering the disposition of it, he made the flank next the enemy thrice as strong as before, distributed the slingers and archers among the infantry, placed all the cavalry in the wings, and animating them by a short speech suitable to the occasion, advanced, in this order, towards the plain.

But observing the Numidians to keep their ground, without offering to stir from the hill, and fearing lest, from the heat of the season, and the scarcity of water, his army would be distressed by thirst, he ordered his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with the light armed cohorts, and a detachment of horse,

to march before him to the river, and secure a place to encamp on: judging that the enemy would, by frequent skirmishes, and attacks upon his flank, endeavour to retard his march, and to harrafs his men by thirst and continual fatigue, as they had no hopes of success in battle. He then advanced gently, as his circumstances and situation allowed him, in the same order as he had descended from the mountain; posting Marius in the center, and marching himself in the left wing, at the head of the cavalry, which was now become the front.

Jugurtha, when he saw that the Roman rear had got beyond his first rank, detached two thousand foot, to take possession of that part of the mountain from whence Metellus had descended, that it might not serve the enemy for a place of security, if they were routed; and then, giving the signal, fell upon them. Some of his men made great slaughter in our rear, whilst others charged us on the right and left; they advanced furiously, fought vigorously, and every where broke our ranks. Even those of our men, who opposed them with the greatest firmness and resolution, were baffled by their disorderly manner of fighting: being wounded at a distance, and unable to return blow for blow, or come to a close engagement: for the Numidian cavalry, according to the instructions they had received from Jugurtha, when any of the Roman troops advanced against them, immediately fled, not in close order, or in a body, but dispersed as wide as possible. As they could not, however, by this means discourage us from pursuing them, yet being superior in number, they charged us either in flank or rear; and when the hill seemed more convenient to fly to than the plain, their horses, being accustomed to it, made their way more easily through the thickets; whilst ours, not being used

to such rough and difficult places, could not follow them.

The whole transaction, indeed, afforded a spectacle various and perplexed, dismal and shocking; some flying, others pursuing: all separated from their fellows; no standard kept to; no ranks observed; every one standing upon his defence, and repulsing his adversary, wherever he was attacked; arms and darts, horses and men, enemies and fellow citizens blended together in wild confusion; nothing acted by counsel, nothing by authority, but chance over-ruling every thing. So that, though the day was far spent, the event was still uncertain. At last, both sides being fatigued with fighting and the heat of the day, Metellus, perceiving the Numidian vigour abated, rallied his men by degrees, restored their ranks, and posted four legionary cohorts against the enemy's foot, a great part of which had, through weariness, retired to the rising grounds for repose. At the same time he intreated and exhorted his men not to lose their courage, nor suffer a flying enemy to be victorious; adding, that they had no camp nor castles to fly to, but that all their hopes were in their arms. Nor was Jugurtha, indeed, in the mean time unactive, but rode about, animated his men, renewed the fight, and, at the head of a select body, made all possible efforts; supported his men, where they were pressed; charged the enemy vigorously, where they wavered; and, where they stood firm, annoyed them with darts at a distance.

Thus did these two generals contend, both excellent officers, and equally matched, but unequally supported. Metellus had brave men, but a bad situation; Jugurtha had every other advantage, but that of soldiers. At last the Romans consider-

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ing that no place of refuge was left them ; that the enemy avoided every opportunity of engaging, and that night approached ; advanced up the hill, according to orders, and made themselves masters of it. The Numidians, having lost this post, were routed and put to flight, but few of them slain : their own swiftness, and our being unacquainted with the country, saved most of them.

In the mean time, Bomilcar, to whom Jugurtha, as we have already related, had given the command of the elephants and part of the foot, when he saw that Rutilius had passed him, drew down his men gently into the plain ; where, without being interrupted, he drew them up in order of battle, as the exigency required, whilst the lieutenant-general was marching with great haste to the river, whither the consul had sent him : nor did he neglect to inform himself of what the Romans were doing on every side. As soon as he had learned that Rutilius was encamped, and free from all apprehensions of danger ; and perceiving that the noise of the battle, wherein Jugurtha was engaged, grew greater ; fearing least the lieutenant-general, upon discovering the matter, should return to the relief of our men in distress, in order to obstruct his passage, he extended his front, which before, distrusting the bravery of his troops, he had formed close and compact ; and in this order advanced to the camp of Rutilius.

The Romans on a sudden perceived a great cloud of dust, which at first they supposed was raised by the wind driving the dry soil ; for the country being covered with bushes hindered their view of the Numidians : but observing it to continue constant, and approach nearer and nearer as the army moved, they perceived what the cause of it was, and flying

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ing to their arms, drew up before the camp, according to orders. When the enemy was come up, they encountered on both sides with terrible shouts. The Numidians maintained the fight, as long as they thought their elephants could be of any service to them ; but when they saw them entangled among the branches of the trees, and surrounded by our men, they betook themselves to flight, and throwing away their arms, escaped most of them unhurt, partly by the advantage of the hill, and partly by that of the night.

Four elephants were taken, the rest, forty in number, were all slain. The Romans, however, though fatigued with their march, with fortifying their camp, and fighting; and though all highly pleased with their success, yet, as Metellus tarried beyond their expectation, they advanced resolutely in order of battle to meet him: for such was the Numidian subtlety, as to leave no room for inactivity or remissness. When they were at a small distance from one another, as the night was dark, the noise on both sides greatly alarmed each with the apprehensions of an approaching enemy: and this mistake had like to have produced the most fatal consequences, if some horsemen, dispatched by both parties, had not discovered the true cause of it. Whereupon their fear was quickly changed into gladness; the soldiers joyfully called to one another by name; mutually recounted their late exploits: and every one extolling his own gallant behaviour to the skies. For such is the nature of human affairs; upon a victory even cowards may boast; whilst a defeat casts reproach even on the brave.

Metellus continued for four days in the same camp; took proper care of the wounded; conferred the usual military rewards on such as had distinguished

tinguished themselves in the late engagements; commended the whole army, which he assembled with that view; returned them his publick thanks; then exhorted them 'to act with equal courage in what farther remained, which was but little. They had already fought sufficiently for victory; their future labours would be only to enrich themselves with plunder.' In the mean time, however, he dispatched away deserters, and other proper persons, to discover where Jugurtha was; what he was doing; whether he was at the head of an army, or attended only with a few; and how he brooked his defeat. The king, he found, had retired into woods and places fortified by nature, and raised an army more numerous than the former, but weak and spiritless; better acquainted with tilling and pasture, than with war: the reason of which was, that, upon a defeat, none of the Numidians follow their king, excepting his horse-guards; the rest go wherever they please. Nor is this reckoned any reproach, it being the custom of the nation.

Metellus, when he saw that the king's spirit was still undaunted, that the war was to be renewed, which could not be carried on, but just as Jugurtha pleased; and moreover considered, upon what unequal terms he engaged the enemy, who suffered less by a defeat, than he did in defeating them; he resolved to pursue the war, not regularly by pitched battles, but in a different manner. Accordingly, he marches into the richest parts of Numidia; ravages the country; takes many towns and castles, that were either slightly fortified, or without garrisons, and burns them; orders the youth to be put to the sword, and gives every thing else to the soldiers for spoil. This manner of proceeding struck such terror, that many hostages were given him; corn, and other necessaries plentifully supplied; and gar-

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garisons suffered to be placed wherever he judged convenient. These measures alarmed the king more than the loss of the late battle; for he, who had no hopes but in flying before us, was now forced to follow us; and though he could not defend his own territories, he was obliged to wage war in those possessed by the Romans. Under this difficulty, however, he pursued such measures as seemed most advisable. He ordered the greatest part of his army to continue together, whilst he himself, with a select body of cavalry, pursued Metellus; and by marching in the night-time through bye roads, he surprized such of our men as were rambling over the country; most of whom being unarmed were slain, many were taken prisoners, and none escaped without being wounded. For, before any assistance could be sent them from the camp, the Numidians had, according to orders, retired to the neighbouring hills.

In the mean time, there was great joy at Rome, when they heard of the management of Metellus; how he had conducted himself and his army according to the antient discipline; had, by his bravery come off victorious, though under the disadvantage of situation; had made himself master of the enemy's country; and forced Jugurtha, whom the infamous conduct of Aulus had lately rendered so insolent, to place all his hopes of safety in flight and desarts. The senate, therefore, appointed publick thanksgivings and oblations to the immortal gods, for the success of their arms. The city, before full of anxiety for the event of the war, was now full of joy, and nothing was to be heard but the praises of Metellus: which made him exert more vigorous efforts to obtain a compleat victory; with which view, he pushed all his measures with the utmost diligence, still guarding, however, against any
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surprize from the enemy, and remembring that after glory comes envy. Thus the more renowned he was, the more vigilant he became ; nor, since the late unexpected attack from Jugurtha, would he suffer his men to spread themselves over the country in quest of plunder. When he stood in need of corn or forage, he detached all the cavalry, with some bands of foot, to guard it. One part of the army he commanded himself, and Marius the other; the country was laid waste more by fire than depredations.

The two bodies of the army encamped separately, but at a small distance from each other, and when there was occasion for it, they united ; but, in order to spread terror and desolation the farther, they acted apart. Jugurtha all this time followed them upon the mountains ; watching some favourable opportunity or situation to attack them ; and whenever he heard which way they intended to march, he destroyed the forage and the springs, of which there was great scarcity. One while he presented himself to Metellus, another to Marius ; sometimes he fell upon their rear, and then presently drew off to the hills ; by and by he attacked them again, now in one quarter, now in another ; neither venturing a battle, nor suffering them to be quiet ; but only endeavouring to hinder the execution of their designs.

When the Roman general perceived that he was harrassed by the artful management of the enemy, who avoided all occasions of giving him battle ; he determined to lay siege to Zama, a very considerable city, and the bulwark of the kingdom on that side ; supposing that Jugurtha would not fail to advance to the relief of his subjects in that distress, and that an engagement would thereupon ensue. But Jugurtha,

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tha, having got intelligence of this design from the deserters, reached Zama by great marches before Metellus; encouraged the inhabitants to defend their walls, and reinforced them with a body of deserters, who were the most desperate of all his forces, as they durst not betray him. He promised, besides, that he would return in due time to their assistance, at the head of an army. Having thus regulated his affairs, he withdrew into the most solitary parts of the country; and soon after being informed that Marius, with a few cohorts, was sent from the army as it marched, to bring provisions from Sicca, which was the first town that revolted from him after his defeat; he went thither by night, with a select body of horse, and attacked the Romans just as they were returning thro' the gate. At the same time, he called aloud to the inhabitants, 'to fall upon the cohorts in the rear; that fortune presented them with an opportunity of performing a noble achievement; which if they did, that he should for the future enjoy his kingdom, and they their liberties in safety.' And had not Marius advanced the standards, and got speedily out of the town, the greatest part of the inhabitants, if not all, would certainly have changed sides; such is the inconstancy of the Numidians. But Jugurtha's troops, who, being animated by him, had, for a short time, maintained the fight, finding themselves pressed by the Romans with superior vigour, fled with the loss of a few of their men, and Marius arrived before Zama.

This town was built on a plain; better fortified by art than nature; well furnished with every thing necessary; and abounding with men and arms. Metellus, having regulated every thing, as the occasion and undertaking required, surrounded it with his army: assigned his lieutenants their several posts of

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command; and then, upon a signal given, a great shout was raised at once from all quarters. This, however, did not terrify the Numidians, who waited the attack without any disorder, full of ardor and resolution: accordingly the encounter begun; our men fought each according to his inclination; some at a distance, with stones and slings; some withdrew after they had attacked, and others came in their place; one while they undermined the walls, another they endeavoured to scale them; all eager to engage the enemy in close fight. The townsmen, on the other hand, rolled down stones on those who came nearest the walls; and discharged darts, stakes, and burning torches of pitch and sulphur upon them. Nor were such of our men as kept at a distance thro' fear, the more secure for it; most of them being wounded by weapons thrown by engines, or by force of arm. So that the cowards were exposed to equal danger with the brave, without sharing their glory.

During this contest at Zama, Jugurtha, at the head of a great body of troops, surprized the Roman camp, and by reason of the negligence of the guard, who apprehending nothing less than an attack, broke in at one of the gates. Our men, struck with sudden consternation, consulted their safety, each according to his character: some fled, others had recourse to their arms, and many of them were wounded or slain. Of all the number there were only forty, who acted like Romans: They forming themselves into a body, took possession of a rising ground, which they maintained against the most vigorous efforts of the enemy to dispossess them; and even returned the darts that were thrown at them, which did the more execution, as they were few against many. If the Numidians ventured nearer

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them, then they exerted their utmost bravery, slaying, routing, and putting them to flight.

In the mean time, whilst Metellus was carrying on the siege of Zama with great vigour, he heard a noise and shouting behind him, like that of an enemy, and turning his horse, observed men flying towards him, a certain proof that they were his own. Wherefore he immediately sent the whole cavalry to the camp; and soon after C. Marius with the auxiliary cohorts; conjuring him with tears, 'by their mutual friendship, by his regard to the public welfare, not to suffer such a stain to rest upon a victorious army, nor the enemy to escape, without taking ample vengeance upon them.' Marius quickly executed his orders.

Jugurtha now found himself and his men embarrassed in our entrenchments; some threw themselves over the rampart; the rest, striving to get through the gates, which were too narrow, obstructed one another; so that after the loss of a great many men, he betook himself to his strong holds. Metellus, not succeeding in his attempt upon the town, returned in the evening with his army to the camp.

The next day, before he returned to renew the assault, he posted all his horse without the camp, with orders to guard that side, on which he expected Jugurtha would appear; and having distributed the guard of the gates, and the adjoining posts, amongst the tribunes, he advanced to the town, and made an assault upon the walls as he had done the day before. Jugurtha in the mean time, leaving his covert, fell suddenly upon our men. Those of the advanced guard being somewhat terrified, were put into disorder, but quickly relieved by the rest; so that

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he Numidians could not have maintained their ground any longer, if their foot, mixing with their horse, had not done great execution among us: for the horse trusting to the assistance of the foot, did not charge as formerly, advancing and retiring by turns, but pressed forward with great vigour, grappled with our men and broke them; then delivered them up, when nigh conquered, to be dispatched by their light armed foot.

During this very time, there was a sharp conflict at Zama; the lieutenants and tribunes made prodigious efforts in their several posts; all placing their hopes of victory in their own bravery, rather than in the assistance of others. The townsmen, too, made a vigorous resistance, boldly repulsing our men, and defending themselves resolutely in every quarter. They were more eager, indeed, on both sides, to wound the enemy than to protect themselves. A confused noise of exhortations, shouts of joy, and groans arose continually; the din of arms reached the skies; and darts flew thick on every side. Those who defended the walls, when they found the fury of the besiegers ever so little abated, viewed the engagement of the cavalry with great earnestness: and according as Jugurtha prevailed or not, you might have observed their joy or concern: nay, as if they could have been heard or seen by their friends, some advised them, others encouraged them, making signs with their hands, and moving their bodies this way and that, as if they themselves had been avoiding darts or throwing them. When Marius, who commanded in that quarter, observed this, he purposely slackened his attack, as if he had lost all hopes of success, and suffered them to view the engagement at the camp without interruption. Then, whilst their attention was closely engaged, he made a sudden and vigorous assault upon the walls;

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walls; and the soldiers had almost gained the top of them with their scaling ladders, when the townsmen flying to their defence, poured down upon the besiegers stones, fire, and all sorts of weapons. Our men sustained all this for a while, but some of the ladders breaking down, and those who stood upon them tumbling headlong, the rest retreated each as he could, the greatest part of them covered with wounds, few escaping unhurt. At last night put an end to the combat.

Metellus, finding that his attempt upon the town was unsuccessful; that Jugurtha was determined not to engage, unless by surprize, or where he had the advantage of the ground, and that the summer was already over, left Zama, and placed garrisons in those cities which had revolted to him, and were strong by nature or well fortified; then put his army into winter quarters in those parts of our province, where it borders upon Numidia. Nor did he spend his time there, as others had done, in luxury and inaction; but finding what small progress he made in the war by fighting, he formed a design to defeat the king, by employing the treachery of his friends against him instead of arms. Accordingly he applies to Bomilcar, who had been at Rome with Jugurtha, and being arraigned for the murder of Massiva, had fled from thence to evade his trial, abandoning his sureties. This man, who had the best opportunity of betraying the king upon account of his great intimacy with him, Metellus prevailed upon, by the force of promises, to come first to a private conference with him; then, pledging his honour, 'that if he would deliver to him Jugurtha dead or alive, he would procure him his pardon from the senate, with the enjoyment of his whole fortune;' he easily persuaded the Numidian, who was naturally faithless, and likewise afraid, lest, if

a peace was concluded with the Romans, he should, by the articles of it, be delivered up to punishment.

Bomilcar, as soon as he found an opportunity, accosted Jugurtha, when full of anxiety, and lamenting his lot; and with tears in his eyes pressed and conjured him, 'to consult at last his own safety, that of his children, and the Numidians, who had been so zealously devoted to his service. He begged of him to consider, that he had been defeated in every engagement; that his country was laid waste; many of his subjects taken; many of them slain; the strength of his kingdom exhausted; that he had already sufficiently tried the bravery of his troops, and the inclination of fortune, and ought now to take care, lest the Numidians, whilst he thus delayed, should provide for their own safety.' By these and the like arguments he prevailed upon the king to surrender. Accordingly ambassadors were sent to Metellus, to let him know that Jugurtha was ready to submit to whatever he should desire, and to deliver himself and his kingdom absolutely to his disposal. Metellus forthwith ordered all those of senatorial rank to be summoned from their winter quarters, and advised with them, and others whom he thought proper to consult upon the occasion; acting herein according to ancient usage. Then, agreeably to an order of the council, he sent deputies to Jugurtha, commanding him, 'to deliver up to the Romans two hundred thousand pounds of silver, all his elephants, with some horses and arms.' This being immediately complied with, he ordered 'all our deserters to be brought him in chains.' A great part of them were brought accordingly; the rest, who were but few in number, had fled for refuge to Bocchus king of Mauritania, upon the first appearance of a surrender.

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render. When Jugurtha, thus stripped of his arms, men, and money, was himself summoned to Tifidum to surrender to the consul, he began again to change his mind, and to dread the punishment, which he was conscious to himself was due to his crimes. Many days were spent by him in irresolution; one while he preferred any terms whatever to war, being tired with calamities; another, he considered what a terrible fall it was from a throne to servitude: but at last he determined to renew the war, after he had needlessly divested himself of so considerable a part of his strength. The senate at Rome, too, having met to consult about the distribution of provinces, had, during this juncture, decreed Numidia to Metellus.

About the same time, as C. Marius, who happened to be at Utica, was sacrificing to the gods, he was told by a diviner, 'that great and wonderful things were presaged to him; he should therefore pursue whatever designs he had formed, and trust the gods for their success; he might try fortune as much as he pleased, all his undertakings would succeed.' Now Marius had been long seized with an ardent desire of the consulship, and had indeed every qualification for obtaining it, except that of a noble descent: he had industry, probity, vast knowledge in war, great spirit in battle, uncommon sobriety, a soul that disdained to be enslaved to riches or pleasure, and which only thirsted after glory. He was born at Arpinum, where he past his childhood, and as soon as he was of age to bear arms, he did not give himself up to the study of Grecian eloquence, nor to the delicacies of Rome, but to the life of a soldier; and thus, in a short time, did this excellent genius, by a proper course of discipline, acquire a masterly knowledge in war: so that when he made his first suit to the

people for the military tribuneship, though the greatest part of them did not know his face, his character was so well known, that he obtained it by the voices of all the tribes. After that, he mounted still higher, and in every office which he bore, behaved so well, that he was always thought to deserve a greater. Yet Marius, with all his merit, till this time (for ambition afterwards hurried him into strange excesses) had not dared to stand for the consulship. For though the people, at that time, conferred all the other offices, that of consul the nobility engrossed to themselves: every new man, however renowned or distinguished by his merit, was reckoned, by them, unworthy of that supreme magistracy, and, as it were, a profane person.

When Marius perceived, that the answer from the diviner was agreeable to his own inclinations, he petitioned Metellus for leave to go to Rome, to stand for the consulship. Metellus, though he had a great deal of virtue and honour, and other desirable qualities, yet possessed a haughty and disdainful spirit, the common failing of the nobility; he was, therefore, at first, struck with so extraordinary a request, expressed his great surprize at his designs, and advised him, as in friendship, ‘not to entertain
‘such unreasonable views, nor suffer his mind to be
‘exalted above his station; it did not become every
‘man to aspire after every thing; he ought to be
‘contented with his present condition; in a word,
‘he ought to take care, not to demand that of the
‘Roman people, which they might justly refuse
‘him.’ When, after these and the like remonstrances, he still found Marius steady to his purpose, he promised to grant his request, as soon as the condition of publick affairs would allow him. After this, as he still continued to urge his petition, Metellus is reported to have told him; ‘that he had

‘no

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‘no need to be in such a hurry, for that it would
‘be time enough for him to stand for the consulship,
‘when his son was of age to join with him.’ This
youth was then about twenty years of age, and
serving under his father, but had no command.

This fired Marius with a more ardent desire of
obtaining the consulship, and highly incensed him
against Metellus ; so that he blindly followed the
dictates of ambition and resentment, the worst of
counsellors. He did and said every thing that
could promote his views : he gave greater liberty to
the soldiers under his command in their winter quar-
ters, than formerly ; he enveighed severely, to our
traders, then in great numbers at Utica, against Me-
tellus’s manner of conducting the war, and boasted
greatly of himself : ‘that were but half the army
‘under his command, he would in a few days have
‘Jugurtha in chains : that the consul prolonged the
‘war on purpose, being a vain man, possessed of
‘kingly pride, and fond of command.’ All which
was the more readily believed by those traders, as
they had suffered in their fortunes by the long con-
tinuance of the war ; and to an impatient spirit, no
measures appear expeditious enough.

There was, besides, in our army a Numidian
named Gauda, the son of Manastabal, and grand-
son of Masinissa, whom Micipsa had appointed next
heir to his immediate successors ; one whose bodily
disorders had impaired the faculties of his mind.
This man had applied to Metellus for a seat next
him, and afterwards for a troop of Roman horse for
his guard, and was denied both ; the seat, because
it was conferred on none but those whom the Ro-
man people distinguished with the title of kings ;
the troop, because it would be an affront to the Ro-
man horse to be body-guards to a Numidian. This

double refusal filled his mind with discontent, in the height of which Marius accosted him, and prompted him to seek revenge for the affronts put upon him by the general, promising him his assistance. By soothing speeches, he filled the imagination of the man, whose faculties were weakened by diseases, with a high conceit of his own dignity, extolling him 'as a prince, a person of great importance, 'the grandson of Masinissa; one who would forthwith get the kingdom of Numidia, were Jugurtha 'once taken or slain, which would presently happen, 'if he himself was made consul, and had the management of the war.'

By these means, not only Gauda, but the Roman knights, soldiers, and traders, were all engaged, some by Marius, most of them by their hopes of a speedy peace, to write to their friends at Rome concerning the war, with severe invectives against Metellus, and to desire Marius might be made general. Thus the consulship was solicited for him by great numbers of men, in a manner highly honourable to him. The people, too, at this juncture, having given a deep wound to the power of the nobility by the Mamilian law, were proceeding to raise plebeians to the chief magistracies; so that every thing favoured the views of Marius.

Jugurtha, in the mean time, having dropped his purpose of surrendring, and begun the war afresh, made preparations for it with the utmost diligence and dispatch. He raised an army; endeavoured, by threats or promises, to recover the cities which had revolted from him; fortified what places he still held; made or bought arms, and warlike stores, in the room of those, which he had parted with in hopes of peace; solicited the Roman slaves to join him; tempted those who were in the garri-
sons

sons with his money ; in a word, he left nothing unattempted ; raised commotions every where, and pushed every possible measure. In consequence of these efforts, the principal inhabitants of Vacca, where Metellus had placed a garrison upon the first proposals made by Jugurtha for a peace, being wearied out with the king's importunities, and indeed not alienated from him in their affections, entered into a conspiracy for betraying the city. For the populace were, what they generally are every where, more especially in Numidia, inconstant, seditious, fond of disturbances and innovations, and enemies to tranquility and repose. Having concerted their scheme, they pitched upon the third day following for the execution of it ; because that being a festival, to be celebrated throughout all Africa, was thought a more proper season to inspire mirth and jollity, than fear and distrust. When the day came, the conspirators invited the centurions, the military tribunes, and T. Turpilius Silanus, governor of the city, to their several houses, and butchered them all, amidst the feast, except Turpilius ; after which they fell upon the soldiers, who, as it was a day of rejoicing, were dispersed over the town, without their arms, and under no command. The populace joined them, part of them being instructed before hand by the nobility, and others pushed on by their passion for such proceedings ; being highly pleased with the commotion, and the novelty of the thing, though they neither knew what was transacting, nor the reason of it.

The Roman soldiers, struck with this sudden alarm, and not knowing whence it arose, nor what course to take, fled in great confusion to the castle, where their standards and shields lay ; but found it shut and guarded by the enemy. The city gates
too

too were shut to prevent their escape, and to heighten their calamity, the women and children with great fury, poured down upon them, from the tops of the houses, stones and whatever else came to their hands. Being thus beset with danger in various shapes without being able to guard against it, and the bravest men incapable of resisting the weakest hands; the worthless and the worthy, the daring and the cowardly, perished all alike unrevenged. During so direful a massacre, whilst the Numidians exercised the utmost rage and cruelty, and the city was shut on all sides, Turpilius the governor escaped unhurt, the only Italian who did so: but whether this was owing to the kindness of his host, to private compact, or chance, does not clearly appear; which way soever it was, he must be considered as a worthless and infamous wretch, since in so great a calamity to the state, he preferred an inglorious life to unfulfilled honour.

Metellus, when he heard of what had passed at Vacca, was so deeply afflicted, that he did not appear in public for some time; but indignation mixing with his grief, he made all possible haste to revenge the injury. Accordingly he drew out the legion which wintered with him, with as many light Numidian horse as he could get together; and marching about sun-set, at the head of this detachment, he arrived next morning, about the third hour, in a certain place inclosed on all sides with small eminences. There, the soldiers being fatigued with the length of their march, and refusing to obey any further orders, he informed them that the town of Vacca was not above a mile off; and that it became them patiently to endure the small remaining fatigue, since it was to take vengeance for the death of their fellow-citizens, the bravest

bravest of men, and miserably massacred. He likewise generously offered them the whole plunder; and having thus roused their courage, he placed the cavalry in the front, ordering them to extend themselves as wide as possible, and the foot to march in close array, concealing their standards.

The inhabitants of Vacca, observing an army march towards them, judged rightly at first, that it was Metellus, and accordingly shut their gates; but when they saw that the lands were not ravaged, and that those in the front were Numidian horse, they next imagined it was Jugurtha, and went out with great joy to meet him. Our horse and foot, upon a sudden signal given, immediately fell upon them; some cut off the rabble that poured out of the city in great numbers; others hastened to secure the gates; and part seized upon the towers: their thirst of vengeance, and hopes of plunder, making them forget their weariness. Thus the people of Vacca triumphed only for two days in their treachery; and their city, which was great and opulent, was delivered up wholly to the fury of our soldiers eager for vengeance and rapine. Turpilius the governor of the city, who, as we have already related, was the only one that made his escape, was summoned before Metellus, to answer for his conduct; but not clearing himself, he was condemned, sentenced to be scourged, and then put to death; a punishment inflicted upon him as a native of Latium.

About this time Bomilcar, at whose instigation Jugurtha had offered to surrender, though he was prevented by fear from doing it, was very desirous of bringing about a revolution, for the king and he were filled with distrust of each other. Accordingly he

he was contriving plots for Jugurtha's destruction both day and night; and, after revolving a variety of schemes in his mind, he took Nabdalsa for his associate, a nobleman of great riches and highly beloved by his countrymen, who used to command an army apart from the king, and manage all such affairs, as Jugurtha, when fatigued with others, or engaged in those of greater moment, could not dispatch himself; by which means he acquired great glory and wealth.

A day was agreed upon by these two for the execution of the plot, and all other measures were left to be regulated as occasion should require: upon which Nabdalsa went to the army, which, agreeably to the king's orders, he kept in the neighbourhood of our winter quarters, in order to prevent our ravaging the country with impunity. But being afterwards struck with the enormity of the enterprise, and prevented by fear from coming at the time appointed, Bomilcar, who was impatient to accomplish his design, and greatly concerned, lest his associate should depart from his late engagements, and consult his own safety by a discovery, sent a letter to him by such as he could confide in, wherein he upbraided him with effeminacy and want of spirit; called the gods, by whom he had sworn, to witness; and warned him, 'not to turn the rewards offered by Metellus to his own destruction; Jugurtha's ruin was at hand; the only thing to be considered, was, whether it was to be effected by their bravery, or that of Metellus; he ought therefore to think with himself, which he would make choice of, a great recompence, or a cruel death.'

It happened, that Nabdalsa received this letter at a time, when being much fatigued after a great deal

of exercise, he was reposing himself on his bed: upon reading it, he was at first filled with great anxiety; then, as is usual to minds burdened with cares, sleep seized him. He had in his service a certain Numidian of approved fidelity, who was highly in favour, and acquainted with all his designs except this last: this man, when he heard that a letter was brought, supposing that there would be occasion, as usual, for his service or counsel, went into his master's tent, and finding him asleep, took the letter, which lay negligently behind his head on the pillow, and read it; and having discovered the plot, went with all possible haste to the king. Nabdalla, who waked soon after, missing his letter, and being informed by deserters, of all that had passed, endeavoured at first to have his accuser intercepted; but failing in that, he went directly to the king, to try to appease him. He affirmed that he was prevented from making the discovery himself, by the treachery of his servant; and with tears in his eyes conjured him, 'by their mutual friendship, by his faithful past services, not to suspect him of so foul a crime.' To this the king returned a gracious answer, very different from what he thought; and putting Bomilcar to death, with others whom he knew to be accomplices in the plot, he suppressed his resentment, lest by making any more sacrifices to his vengeance, he should occasion an insurrection.

From this time Jugurtha enjoyed no tranquility of mind day or night; judged himself insecure in every place, with every person, and upon every occasion; equally distrusted his subjects and his enemies; was constantly upon his guard; affrighted at every noise; passed his nights one while here, another there, often in places very unsuitable to royal dignity; sometimes started out of his sleep in the dead of night, and snatching his arms, raised an alarm. Thus did
his

his fears, like a phrensy, continually tear and transport him.

Metellus, when he received intelligence by deserters of the fate of Bomilcar, and the discovery of the plot, made preparations afresh with the utmost vigour, as if the war had been but just beginning. And as Marius was constantly importuning him for leave to be gone, he now dismissed him, thinking it improper to trust him, as he served with reluctance, and bore him personal enmity. At Rome too, the populace, when they learned the contents of the letters which were sent from Africa, concerning Metellus and Marius, were well pleased with the accounts of both. The high quality of the general, which had hitherto been a motive for honouring him, exposed him now to the odium of the people; whilst the obscurity of his lieutenant's birth recommended him to their favour: but still the different parties were more influenced by their partiality, than the good or bad qualities of either. Besides, the factious magistrates inflamed the multitude, by charging Metellus with capital crimes in all their harangues, and highly celebrating the merit of Marius. At length the people were so fired, that the mechanicks and boors, whose whole substance and credit was derived from their daily labour, quitting their several employments, crowded from all quarters to attend upon Marius; and were more concerned for his advancement, than for procuring the necessaries of life to themselves. The nobility being thus depressed, the consulship was bestowed upon a new man, which had not been happened for many years before. After this, when the people were asked by Manlius Mantinus, tribune of the people, to whom they would commit the management of the war against Jugurtha, they in a full assembly assigned it to Marius, which rendered abortive the
decree

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decree of the senate, that a little before had decreed Numidia to Metellus.

In the mean time Jugurtha, finding himself bereft of his confidants, most of whom indeed had been put to death by him, and the rest apprehending the like fate had fled, some to the Romans, others to king Bocchus, was agitated with great perplexity of mind, and knew not what to do. He saw it was impossible to carry on the war without ministers, and thought it dangerous to risque the fidelity of new ones, after having met with so much treachery in the old; no scheme, no advice, no person could please him; he shifted his marches, and changed his officers every day; one while he moved towards the enemy, another towards the deserts; oftentimes he placed all his security in flight, presently after in arms; nor could he determine whether the fidelity or courage of his subjects was least to be confided in: thus, which way soever he turned his thoughts, he found nothing but vexation and discouragement.

During this irresolution, Metellus on a sudden appeared with his army. Jugurtha improved what little time he had to draw up his men in order of battle; after which the combat begun, and which was maintained for some time, where the king fought in person, but the rest of the army was routed and put to flight upon the first encounter. The Romans took all their standards and arms, with a small number of prisoners. The swiftness of the Numidians, indeed, in all their engagements with the Romans, was more serviceable to them than their arms.

After this defeat, Jugurtha having less hopes of success than ever, retired with some deserters, and
part

part of his cavalry to the desarts; and from thence to Thala, a great and wealthy town, where his treasure was chiefly kept, and his children educated in a very princely manner. When Metellus was informed of this, though he knew, that between the adjoining river and the city, he had a parched wilderness, of fifty miles extent, to march through, yet hoping to put an end to the war by the reduction of that city, he determined to bid defiance to all difficulties, and attempted even to triumph over nature herself. He therefore gave orders that the usual burdens should be taken from the beasts of carriage, and that they should be laden only with corn for ten days, together with leathern bottles, and other utensils proper for carrying of water. Besides, he got together all the beasts of burden he could find in the neighbouring country, and loaded them with vessels of every kind, but mostly of wood procured from the cottages of the Numidians. He, moreover commanded the natives of the neighbourhood, who had surrendered themselves to him, after the defeat of the king, to furnish themselves with as much water as they could carry, and bring it to a certain place, which he appointed, fixing the time for doing it. For a supply to himself, he loaded his beasts from the river, which, as we have already related, was the nighest water to the town; and thus provided he advanced towards Thala.

When he was arrived at the place, where he had ordered the Numidians to meet him, and had pitched and fortified his camp, such a flood of rain is said to have fallen, as would alone have been more than sufficient for the whole army. Provisions too were brought him in greater plenty than he expected; for the Numidians, as is usual with those who have submitted to new masters, had even brought more than was demanded of them.

The

The soldiers, from a principle of superstition, chose chiefly the water which fell from the heavens; for they imagined they were the objects of the particular care of the immortal gods; and this greatly heightened their courage. The next day, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, they arrived before Thala. The inhabitants, who imagined themselves sufficiently secured by their situation, were struck with astonishment at so strange an event; but nevertheless made vigorous preparations for defending themselves, as did our men for attacking them.

The king, thinking now that nothing was too hard for Metellus, who had by his vigour triumphed over arms, places, seasons, nay, even over nature herself, which forces every thing else to submit to her, fled out of the town in the night-time, with his children, and great part of his treasure. Nor did he ever after tarry above a day or night in one place; pretending that it was business which thus hurried him, though, in reality, he was apprehensive of treasonable practices, which he hoped to prevent by his expedition; being persuaded, that such designs were only formed by leisure and opportunity.

Metellus, finding that the inhabitants were determined to fight in their own defence, and that the city was strong both by art and nature, surrounded it with a trench and rampart; then ordered his men to roll the moving machines to all convenient places, to raise mounds upon them, and towers upon the mounds, in order to defend the work and those who conducted it. The besieged did not fail to make other preparations against these, and acted with great spirit and vigour; nothing indeed was left unattempted on either side. The Romans, at length, spent with much toil, and many sharp conflicts, made themselves masters of the bare city, after

a forty days siege; the whole spoil being destroyed by the deserters. For they, as soon as they found the walls shaken by the battering-rams, and their own case desperate, carried away the gold and silver, with whatever else was esteemed valuable, to the royal palace; and there, after glutting themselves with wine and feasting, they committed all to the flames, the wealth, the palace, and their own lives; inflicting voluntarily upon themselves the severest punishment they could have apprehended from the enemy, had they fallen into their hands.

Just when Thala was taken, deputies came to Metellus from Leptis, to beg of him that he would send them a garrison and a governor; for that one Hamilcar, a factious nobleman, whom neither the power of the magistrates, nor the authority of the laws was able to restrain, was labouring to bring about a revolution; and that unless he sent them present assistance, they, the allies of Rome, would be in the utmost danger. The people of Leptis had indeed, at the beginning of the war with Jugurtha, sent first to the consul Bestia, and afterwards to Rome, desiring to be admitted to friendship and alliance with us. From that time, their request being granted, they continued our good and faithful allies, and readily complied with all the orders they received from Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. Wherefore they easily obtained from the general what they requested of him. Four cohorts of Ligurians were sent thither, and C. Annius as governor.

The city of Leptis was founded by the Sidonians, who, we are told, quitted their country on account of their civil broils, and came by sea into those parts: it is situated between the two Syrtes, places so called from

from their quality. They are two bays almost in the extremity of Africa, of unequal bigness, but naturally alike; near the shores of which the sea is very deep; elsewhere it is sometimes deep, sometimes shallow, just as the wind happens to blow. For when the sea begins to swell, and to be agitated by the winds, the waves roll along with them slime, sand, and stones of a prodigious size; so that as the wind shifts, the bed of the waters changes; and from this quality of dragging their channel they derive their name of Syrtes.

The inhabitants of this city have by their intermarriages with the Numidians changed their native language, but still retained the greatest part of the laws and customs of the Sidonians, which they have done the more easily, because of their being at so great a distance from the Numidian court: for between them and such parts of Numidia as are well peopled are vast deserts.

Now that the affairs of Leptis have led me to discourse of this country, it seems not improper to give an account of a famed and surprizing adventure of two Carthaginians: the place puts me in mind of it.

Whilst the Carthaginians were masters of the greatest part of Africa, the Cyrenians too were a powerful and wealthy people. Between them there lay a vast sandy plain, altogether uniform, without river or mountain to ascertain the boundaries of their several territories; which proved the occasion of long and bloody wars. After their fleets and armies had been often routed and put to flight on both sides, and they had considerably weakened one another, apprehending lest some common enemy should fall upon the conquerors or conquer-

ed both equally exhausted, they came first to a cessation of arms, then to an agreement, that each city should send out deputies at a stated time, and that the place, where they met, should be the common boundary of their dominions. Two brothers having the same name, that of Philænus, were sent from Carthage, and travelled with great expedition. The Cyrenians advanced more slowly, whether from laziness or chance I have not been able to learn. This much is certain, that those parts are sometimes unpassable, being equally liable to be agitated with tempests, as the sea itself. For when the wind blows hard in these vast and naked plains, the sand being hurled from the earth, and driven with a mighty force, fills the mouths and eyes of travellers; and thus depriving them of their sight, hinders them from proceeding. The Cyrenians, finding themselves surpassed in expedition, and apprehending a severe punishment at home, for having occasioned so great a loss to their country, charged the Carthaginians with setting out before the limited time, made a mighty bustle, and declared they would do any thing rather than yield. Now when the Carthaginians desired any other method of deciding the matter that was but fair, the Cyrenians gave them their choice, ‘ either of being buried alive in that place, ‘ where they were for fixing the boundary of their ‘ dominions, or of suffering them to proceed as far ‘ as they thought proper upon the same terms.’ The Philæni, accepting the condition, sacrificed their persons and lives to the good of their country, and were buried alive in that very spot. There the Carthaginians erected altars sacred to them, and instituted other solemnities in Carthage itself, to immortalize their fame. I now return to my subject.

Jugurtha,

Jugurtha, after the loss of Thala, thinking nothing a sufficient security against Metellus, fled, with a few attendants through vast deserts, into the country of the Getulians, a brutal unpolished race, and then unacquainted with the Roman name. Of these he got together a great number, and accustomed them by degrees to move in ranks, to follow their standards, to obey orders, and to perform all military exercises. Moreover, by great presents and greater promises, he gained over to his interest the greatest favourites of king Bocchus; and applying to the king by their means, prevailed upon him to undertake a war against the Romans. This was the more easily effected, because Bocchus was filled with resentment against the Romans, for having refused to admit him into their friendship and alliance, which he had sent ambassadors to Rome to desire in the beginning of our war with Jugurtha; an alliance, extremely advantageous on such an occasion, but obstructed by a few noblemen, who, blinded with avarice, made it their custom to turn every thing into sale, whether honourable or infamous. Besides, Bocchus had, some time before, married a daughter of Jugurtha; though such an alliance is little regarded among the Numidians and Moors; for all have a plurality of wives, some ten, others more, according to their abilities to maintain them; and their kings consequently more than any. Amidst such a variety of women, the heart of man is distracted; so that none of them are looked upon as his companion, but all equally treated with contempt.

Accordingly the kings met with their armies at a place agreed on by both, where after pledging their faith to one another; Jugurtha set himself

to inflame the spirit of Bocchus, by representing to him, ' that the Romans were oppressive, insatiably covetous, and the common enemies of mankind; that they had the same cause for making war upon Bocchus, as upon himself, and so many other nations, namely, their lust of dominion, which made them look upon all independent states as their enemies; that at present they pursued him as an enemy, as they had a little before, king Perses and the Carthaginians; and that, for the future, whatever prince appeared considerable for his power, would be treated by them as an enemy.'

After having said this and much more to the same purpose, they resolved upon marching to Cirta, because Metellus had there lodged his booty, prisoners and baggage; whence Jugurtha thought, that he should find his account abundantly, either in taking the city, or engaging the Romans, if they came to its relief. Such was the subtlety of the Numidian, who by this impatience for action, wanted only to prevent Bocchus from entertaining any thoughts of peace; lest, by delays, he might chuse something very different from war.

Metellus, when he received intelligence of the confederacy of the kings, was more circumspect than when he had only to do with Jugurtha, whom he had so often defeated. He was not forward, as formerly, to engage the enemy upon all occasions, but, fortifying his camp, waited for the kings not far from Cirta; thinking it better, as the Moors were a new enemy, not to fight till he was acquainted with their character, that so he might do it with the more advantage. In the mean time he was informed from Rome, that the province of Numidia was assigned to Marius, for of his being

vanced to the consulship he had heard before. This news mortified him extremely, and transported him beyond all the rules of decency or dignity; insomuch that he could neither refrain from tears, nor moderate his tongue. For tho' he was a man otherwise eminently distinguished for every noble quality, he wanted strength of mind to bear up under vexation and grief. Some imputed this weakness to pride; others, to a worthy spirit provoked by bad usage: many to a deep concern, that the victory, already gained, should be snatched out of his hands. As for me, I have the greatest reason to believe, that the advancement of Marius gave him more uneasiness than his own wrongs, and that he would have quitted his province with less regret, if it had been bestowed upon any other than Marius.

Not concerning himself therefore any further in the war thro' indignation, and thinking it folly to take care of the interest of another at his own hazard, he dispatched deputies to king Bocchus, to admonish him, 'not to become an enemy to the Roman people without any provocation: that he had now a fine opportunity of entering into friendship and alliance with them, which ought greatly to be preferred by him to war. What confidence soever he placed in his own strength, that still he ought not to exchange certainties for uncertainties: that it was an easy matter to begin a war, but extremely difficult to conclude it; that it was not in the power of the same person to undertake and to terminate it: that the conqueror could only drop it, though even a coward might stir it up: that he should therefore consult his own interest and that of his kingdom, and not blend his own flourishing circumstances with the desperate fortune of Jugurtha.' To this the

king replied courteously, ' that he too desired peace, ' but pitied Jugurtha ; if he were to be included in ' it, they should soon agree.' Again the Roman general sent deputies with an answer to the demands of Bocchus, who was satisfied with some particulars, and rejected others. Thus, by sending and returning deputies, the time was spun out, and the war protracted, agreeably to Metellus's desire, without any hostilities.

Marius, who had been created consul by the people, with all the proofs of the warmest zeal for his interest, as we have above related, when he was likewise made governor of Numidia by them, behaved towards the nobility, against whom he was before highly exasperated, with more fury and insolence than ever ; sometimes he insulted particular persons ; sometimes the whole body. He was continually boasting that he had wrested the consulship from them like spoils from a vanquished enemy, with many things of the like nature, all to extol himself and mortify them. In the mean time, his principal care was to provide every thing necessary for the war ; he demanded recruits for the legions ; and sent for auxiliaries from foreign states, kings, and allies. He, moreover, summoned from Latium all the bravest men, most of whom he himself knew by their having served with him, so that there were but few, whose characters he had learned from common fame ; and even, by the force of persuasion, prevailed upon the discharged veterans to go along with him. Nor durst the senate, though his avowed enemies, deny him any thing, nay they even cheerfully decreed him recruits ; because they imagined the populace would be averse to enlist, and so Marius would either not be able to pursue the war, or lose the affections of the people. But herein they were disappointed ; so
eager

eager a desire of going with Marius had seized most of them. Every man flattered himself to return crowned with victory, and enriched with spoil, with the like pleasing thoughts. Marius indeed, had by a speech of his, not a little contributed to raise their expectations; for, after all he desired had been granted him, resolving to raise recruits, he called an assembly of the people, both to encourage them to follow him, and to inveigh against the nobility, as he was wont; he then harangued them in the following manner.

‘ I know, Romans, that most of those who apply to you for preferment in the state, assume a different conduct from what they observe, after they have obtained it. When they are candidates, they are active, condescending, and modest; when magistrates, haughty and indolent: but to me the contrary conduct appears reasonable. For, in proportion as the good of the state is of more importance than the consulship or prætorship, the greater care and attention is requisite to govern the commonwealth, than to court its dignities. I am very sensible what an arduous task is imposed upon me by your generous choice of me; to make preparations for the war, and yet to be sparing of the treasury; to oblige those to serve, whom you would not willingly offend; to attend to every thing both at home and abroad; and to perform all this amidst a confederacy of envious men, eternally obstructing your measures, and caballing against you, is, O Romans, a more difficult undertaking than can easily be imagined. Moreover, if others fail in the discharge of their duty, the antient lustre of their family, the heroic actions of their ancestors, the credit of their kindred and friends, and their numerous dependants afford them protection. As for me, I have

' have no hopes but in myself; my firmness and
 ' integrity alone must protect me, every other sup-
 ' port would be of little avail. I am well aware
 ' too, Romans, that the eyes of all are upon me;
 ' that all honest, all candid men, pleased with
 ' my successful endeavours to serve the state, wish
 ' well to me; but that the nobility watch for an
 ' opportunity to ruin me. Whence I must labour
 ' the more strenuously that you be not ensnared
 ' by them, and that they be disappointed.
 ' From my childhood to this present time, my man-
 ' ner of life has been such, that toils and dangers
 ' are now habitual to me. The course I pursued,
 ' Romans, merely from a disinterested principle, be-
 ' fore you conferred any favours upon me, I shall
 ' be far from discontinuing, now you have bestow-
 ' ed so noble a recompence. Those who put on
 ' the deceitful guise and semblance of virtue, to
 ' obtain power, must, when possessed of it, find it
 ' difficult to act with moderation; but to me whose
 ' whole life has been an uninterrupted series of laud-
 ' able pursuits, virtue, through the force of habit, is
 ' become natural.

' You have ordained that I should have the ma-
 ' nagement of the war against Jugurtha; an ordi-
 ' nance highly displeasing to the nobility. Now,
 ' pray consider with yourselves, whether you had
 ' not better alter your choice, and employ upon
 ' this, or any other like occasion, one of the tribe
 ' of the nobility, a man of an ancient family, sur-
 ' rounded with the images of his ancestors, and
 ' who has never been in the service: see how,
 ' upon such an important occasion, he will hurry
 ' and be confounded, and, ignorant of the whole
 ' of his duty, apply to some plebeian to instruct
 ' him in it. And thus it commonly happens, that
 ' he, whom you have appointed your general, is
 ' obliged

‘ obliged to find another, from whom to receive
 ‘ his orders. I myself, Romans, know some, who,
 ‘ after they were made consuls, began to read the
 ‘ history of our ancestors, and the military precepts
 ‘ of the Greeks. Preposterous method! For
 ‘ though, in the order of time, the election to
 ‘ offices precedes the exercise of them, yet, in
 ‘ the order of things, qualifications and experience
 ‘ should precede election.

‘ Compare me now, Romans, who am but a new man,
 ‘ with these haughty nobles. What they only read
 ‘ or hear of, I have seen performed, or performed
 ‘ myself: what they have gathered from books, I
 ‘ have learned in the service. Now do you your-
 ‘ selves judge, whether practice or speculation are
 ‘ of greatest value. They despise me for the mean-
 ‘ ness of my descent; I them for their indolence:
 ‘ I am upbraided with my fortune, they with their
 ‘ crimes. I am of opinion, that nature is always
 ‘ the same, and common to all; and that those who
 ‘ have most virtue, have most nobility. Suppose
 ‘ it were possible to put the question to the fathers
 ‘ of Albinus or Bestia, whether they would rather
 ‘ have chosen me for their descendant, or them?
 ‘ What answer do you think they would make,
 ‘ but that they should have desired to have had the
 ‘ most deserving men for their sons? but if they
 ‘ have reason to despise me, they have the same to
 ‘ despise their ancestors, whose nobility, like mine,
 ‘ took its rise from their military virtue. They envy
 ‘ my advancement, let them likewise envy my toils,
 ‘ my integrity, my dangers, for by these I gained
 ‘ it. These men, in truth, blinded with pride,
 ‘ live in such manner as if they slighted the ho-
 ‘ nour you have to bestow, and yet sue for them
 ‘ as if they had deserved them. Deluded men! to
 ‘ aspire at once after two things so opposite in their
 natures;

‘ natures; the enjoyment of the pleasures of effeminacy, and the fruits of a laborious virtue. When they harangue too before you, or in the senate, they employ the greatest part of their eloquence in celebrating their ancestors, and vainly imagine that their exploits reflect a lustre on themselves: whereas it is quite the reverse; for the more illustrious their lives were, the more scandalous is the spiritless and unmanly behaviour of these their descendants. The truth of the matter is plainly this; the glory acquired by ancestors, is like a light diffused over the actions of their posterity, which neither suffers their good or bad qualities to be concealed. This light, Romans, is what I want; but what is much more noble, I can relate my own achievements.

‘ See only how unreasonable they are? What they arrogantly claim to themselves for the exploits of others, that they deny me for my own: and what reason do they give for it? why truly this, because I have no images of my ancestors to shew, and my nobility is no older than myself, which certainly, it is more honourable for one to acquire himself, than to debate that which he derives from his ancestors.

‘ I am very sensible, that if they had a mind to reply to what I now advance, they would do it with great eloquence and accuracy. Yet, as they have given a loose to their calumniating tongues upon every occasion, not only against me, but likewise against you, ever since you have conferred this dignity upon me, I was resolved to speak, lest some should impute my silence to a consciousness of my own guilt.

‘ Though

‘ Though I am abundantly satisfied, that no
 ‘ speech whatever can hurt me; since, if what is
 ‘ said be true, it must be to my honour; if false,
 ‘ my life and conduct will confute it. But because
 ‘ your determination is blamed, in bestowing upon
 ‘ me the highest dignity of the state, and trusting
 ‘ me with the conduct of affairs of such importance;
 ‘ consider again and again, whether you had not
 ‘ better alter your choice. I cannot, indeed,
 ‘ boast of the images, triumphs, or consulships of
 ‘ my ancestors, to raise your confidence in me;
 ‘ but, if it is necessary, I can shew you spears,
 ‘ standards, collars, and other military presents
 ‘ in great plenty, besides scars of wounds, all re-
 ‘ ceived before. These are my statues; these the
 ‘ proofs of my nobility, not derived from ancestors,
 ‘ as theirs are, but such as I have myself acquired by
 ‘ many toils and dangers.

‘ My language too is unpolished; but that gives
 ‘ me small concern: virtue shews itself with suf-
 ‘ ficient clearness. They stand in need of the art-
 ‘ ful colourings of eloquence, to hide the infamy
 ‘ of their actions. Nor have I been instructed
 ‘ in the Grecian literature; why truly I had little
 ‘ inclination to that kind of instruction, which did
 ‘ not improve the authors of it in the least degree
 ‘ of virtue. But I have learned other things far
 ‘ more useful to the state; to wound the enemy;
 ‘ to watch; to dread nothing but infamy; equally
 ‘ to undergo cold and heat; to lie upon the bare
 ‘ ground; and endure at the same time hunger
 ‘ and fatigue. These lessons shall animate my
 ‘ troops; nor shall I ever be rigorous to them,
 ‘ and indulgent to myself; or borrow my glory
 ‘ from their toils. This is the manner of com-
 ‘ manding that is useful to the state; this is what
 ‘ suits

' suits the equality of citizens. For to treat the
 ' army with severity, whilst you indulge yourself
 ' in ease and pleasure, is to act the tyrant, not
 ' the general. By a conduct like this, your an-
 ' cestors gained immortal honour both to them-
 ' selves and the republick; which our nobility, tho'
 ' so unlike them in their character, relying upon,
 ' despise us who imitate them: and demand of
 ' you all public honours, not on account of their
 ' personal merit, but as due to their high rank:
 ' arrogant men! but widely mistaken. Their an-
 ' cestors left them every thing in their power to
 ' leave them; their wealth, their images, their
 ' high renown; but their virtue they did not leave
 ' them, nor indeed could they; for it can neither
 ' be given, nor received as a gift.

' They call me an unpolished ill-bred fellow, be-
 ' cause I cannot entertain elegantly; have no buf-
 ' foon; and pay no higher wages to my cook than
 ' to my steward; every part of which charge, Ro-
 ' mans, I readily own. For I have learned from
 ' my father, and other venerable persons, that
 ' delicacy belongs to women; labour to men; that
 ' a virtuous man ought to have a larger share of
 ' glory than riches; and that arms are more or-
 ' namental than splendid furniture.

' But let them still pursue what is so dear and
 ' delightful to them; let them indulge to wine
 ' and women; let them spend their old-age, as they
 ' did their youth, in banqueting, and the lowest
 ' sensual gratifications; let them leave sweat and
 ' dust, and other such things to us, to whom they
 ' are more agreeable than the most elegant en-
 ' tertainments. But even this they will not do,
 ' for after having debased themselves by the prac-
 ' tice of the foulest and most infamous vices, these
 ' most

against J U G U R T H A. 223

‘ most detestable of all men endeavour to deprive
‘ the brave of the rewards that are due to them.
‘ Thus, by the greatest injustice, luxury and
‘ idleness, the most mischievous vices, are no ways
‘ prejudicial to those who are guilty of them; at
‘ the same time that they threaten the innocent
‘ commonwealth with ruin.

‘ Now since I have answered these men, as far as
‘ my own character was concerned, though not so
‘ fully, as their infamous behaviour deserved; I shall
‘ add a few words concerning the state of public affairs.
‘ And first of all, Romans, be of good courage as
‘ to Numidia; since you have now removed all
‘ that hitherto secured Jugurtha, namely, the co-
‘ vetousness, incapacity, and haughtiness of our
‘ commanders. There is an army there likewise, well
‘ acquainted with the country, but indeed more brave
‘ than fortunate; for a great part of it has been
‘ destroyed by the rapaciousness and rashness of its
‘ commanders. Do you, therefore, who are of
‘ age to bear arms, join your efforts to mine, and
‘ assume the defence of the commonwealth, nor let
‘ the fate of others, or the haughtiness of the late
‘ commanders discourage any of you: when you
‘ march, when you engage, I will always be with
‘ you, to direct you how to act, and to share every
‘ danger with you. In a word, I shall desire you
‘ to act no otherwise in any instance, than as you
‘ see me do. Moreover, all things are now ripe
‘ for us, victory, spoil, and glory; and tho’ they
‘ were uncertain, or at a distance, it would still
‘ be the duty of every good citizen, to assist the
‘ state. For no man ever became immortal by
‘ inactivity; nor did ever any father wish his chil-
‘ dren might never die, but rather that they might
‘ live like useful and worthy men. I should add
‘ more to what I have already said, if words
‘ could

‘ could inspire cowards with bravery; for to the
‘ valiant, I think I have said enough.’

Marius, upon delivering the speech, finding the minds of the people animated, ordered provisions, money, and other necessaries for the war, to be embarked with all expedition; and sent his lieutenant A. Manlius along with them. In the mean time he himself was employed in levying troops, accepting all who were inclined to go, without observing the antient method of inrolling those of certain classes only. The greatest part of them consisted of such, as were, upon account of their poverty, exempted from bearing arms: which conduct of his some imputed to the scarcity of better men, others to a design of making his court to the rabble, to whom he first owed his reputation, and then his advancement. Add to this, that to one who aims at power, the most needy are the properest assistants; since they have no property to be solicitous about, and think every thing honourable that is gainful. Marius, setting sail for Africa, with a number of troops somewhat greater than had been decreed him, in a few days arrived at Utica. There the army was delivered up to him by P. Rutilius, lieutenant-general to Metellus; for Metellus avoided the sight of Marius, that he might not behold, what he never could bear to hear.

The consul, having completed his legions and auxiliary cohorts, marched into a fertile country, abounding in plunder: where, whatever he took, he bestowed upon the soldiers. Then he assailed such fortresses and towns, as were not very strong by nature, nor well garrisoned; and had frequent skirmishes in different places. In the mean time the new-raised soldiers learned to join in an en-
counter

counter without fear; they saw that such as fled were either taken or slain; that the bravest were the most secure; that by arms, our liberty, our country, our parents, and every thing else were protected, and glory and riches acquired. Thus, in a short time, the new men matched the veterans, and the bravery of both became equal.

The two kings, as soon as they had notice of the arrival of Marius, retired each into places of difficult access. This was the contrivance of Jugurtha, who, by this means, hoped that the enemy would disperse, and so afford him an opportunity of falling upon them; supposing that the Romans would, like most others, become more remiss and licentious, when their fears were removed.

Metellus, in the mean time, upon his return to Rome, was received, contrary to his expectations, with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection; being equally dear to the commons and senate, now that the popular odium had subsided. As for Marius, he shewed great activity and prudence, in observing the enemy's measures, and pursuing his own; in considering what might tend to promote or obstruct either; informing himself of the separate marches of the two kings; and preventing all their machinations. He suffered no remissness in his own army, nor rest nor security in those of the kings; insomuch that, having frequently attacked both the Getulians and Jugurtha, as they were carrying off the plunder of our allies, he always routed them; and even forced the king himself, not far from Cirta, to cast away his arms and fly. But when he considered that all this was only matter of empty shew and applause, without producing any thing decisive; he resolved to invest all the cities that by the strength of their garrisons, or situa-

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tion,

tion, gave the enemy the greatest advantage against us; as Jugurtha would, thus, be stripped of all his strong holds, if he suffered them to be taken, or be brought to an engagement. For Bocchus had frequently sent deputies to him, to signify his desire of the Roman friendship, and that no hostilities were to be apprehended from him. But whether this was only pretence, that he might fall upon us unawares with the greater success; or whether it proceeded from the inconstancy of his temper, one while prompting him to war, another to peace, I have not been able to discover.

The consul, in pursuance of his design, advanced against the strong towns and forts, some of which he took by assault, and others he gained over to him by threats or promises. At first indeed he attempted only small towns, thinking that Jugurtha, in order to protect his subjects, would come to a battle: but finding that he kept at a distance, and was employed in other affairs, he thought it was time to enter upon greater and more difficult enterprizes.

There stood, in the midst of vast deserts, a large and strong city, called Capsa, said to have been founded by the Libyan Hercules. The citizens, by reason of the many immunities they enjoyed under Jugurtha, who exercised a gentle government over them, were thought to be faithfully devoted to him. They were secured against their enemies, not only by good fortifications, numbers of men and magazines of arms, but much more by the difficulty of approaching them: for the whole country round, except the fields adjoining to the town, was barren and uncultivated, without water, and infested with serpents; whose rage, like that of other wild beasts, is heightened by famine, and who

who, though naturally mischievous, are still more so, when they are inflamed by thirst. Marius had an ardent desire to master this place, not only on account of its importance for the purposes of war, but because of the difficulty of the undertaking: as an additional motive, too, Metellus had acquired great glory by taking Thala, a town that much resembled it in strength and situation, except that at Thala, there were several springs not far from the town; whereas the inhabitants of Capfa had only one, and that within the city, without any other supply of water but from the heavens. This people, as well as the other inhabitants of Africa, who lived at a distance from the sea, and in a rustic manner, the more easily supported this scarcity of water, because the Numidians live mostly upon milk and venison, without the use of salt, or, indeed, any other incentive to appetite: the sole purpose of eating and drinking among them is to satisfy the necessary demands of nature, and not to gratify luxury and intemperance.

The consul took all possible precautions in this undertaking, but relied, I am apt to think, upon the gods, for success; as human prudence could not sufficiently provide against so great difficulties. To his other discouragements was added scarcity of corn, the Numidians applying themselves more to grazing than tillage: besides, what grain there was, had been carried off, by the king's orders, into fortified places; and, as it was the end of summer, the ground was parched and produced nothing. He acted, however, considering his condition, with great prudence and foresight. The cattle he had taken some days before, he committed to the auxiliary cavalry to conduct; and ordered his lieutenant A. Manlius to march with the light cohorts to the city Laris, where he had

placed his provisions and military chest; telling him, that he was going in pursuit of plunder, and would join him in a few days. Thus concealing his design, he marched directly to the river Tana.

In his march, he every day distributed cattle among the companies of foot, and troops of horse in equal proportion; and took care to have bottles made of their hides: thus he at once made the want of corn less sensibly felt, and provided such utensils as were soon to be come necessary, whilst all were ignorant of his intentions. After six days march, they arrived at the river, and had already made a great number of bottles. Having pitched his camp there, and fortified it slightly, he ordered his men to refresh themselves, that they might be ready to march at sun-set: and likewise to lay aside all their baggage, and load themselves, and their beasts of burden, only with water. At the time appointed he decamped, and, marching the whole night, encamped again in the morning. The same he did the next night; and the third, long before dawn, he came to a place full of small hills, about two miles from Capsa, where he passed the remaining part of the night, concealing his forces with the greatest possible care. But as soon as day appeared, and the Numidians, being under no apprehensions of an enemy, had many of them left the town; he instantly ordered all his horse with the nimblest of his foot, to fly to Capsa and secure the gates. He himself followed with great dispatch, not suffering any of his men to stray for plunder. When the inhabitants found this; the great consternation wherewith they were seized, the unexpected calamity that befel them, and the consideration that many of their fellow-citizens were without the walls in the hands of the enemy, forced them to surrender. Their city, however,

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was burnt; the youth put to the sword; all the rest sold; and the plunder given to the soldiers. This severe course, contrary to the laws of war, was not occasioned by the avarice or cruelty of the consul; but was taken, because the place was very advantageous to Jugurtha, and of difficult access to us; the citizens an inconstant perfidious race, not to be curbed by favours or terrors.

After Marius had executed so bold an enterprize without any detriment to his men, his name, which was indeed great and renowned before, became now much more so. All his actions, even those that were too forward, were looked upon as the effects of superior abilities; the soldiers, being under a gentle command, and withal enriched by him, extolled him to the skies: the Numidians dreaded him as more than mortal: in short, both allies and enemies believed he had either the spirit of a deity, or that the gods assisted him in all things.

After this success, the consul advanced against other towns; in taking some of which he met with opposition from the Numidians; but most of them were deserted by their inhabitants, who dreaded the tragical fate of Capsa; and these he burned to the ground. Thus all parts were filled with lamentations and slaughter. At last, having made himself master of many places, and most of them without loss of blood, he engaged in another enterprize, not so hazardous as that of Capsa, but equally difficult.

Not far from the river of Mulucha, which separated the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there stood, in the midst of a plain, a small fort, upon a rock of considerable breadth at top, and prodigiously high; naturally as steep on every side as art or labour

labour could have made it, except one part very strait. As the king's treasure was kept in this place; Marius exerted his utmost efforts to take it, and succeeded more by chance than prudent management. For the castle was abundantly provided with men, arms, provisions, and a spring of water; its situation rendered it impossible to make use of mounds and turrets, and all the machinery of a siege; the way to it was very narrow, with a precipice on each side; the moving galleries were pushed against it with great danger, and to no purpose; for when they advanced but ever so little, they were destroyed by fire or great stones. The soldiers could neither stand firmly to advance their works, for the steepness of the rock; nor make use of their batteries, without exposing themselves to great danger. The bravest of them were either slain or wounded, and the rest greatly discouraged.

Now Marius, having thus spent many toilsome days, debated with himself, whether he should abandon his enterprize, as it proved unsuccessful, or wait the interposition of fortune, which had been so often favourable to him. Whilst he was under this fore perplexity for several days and nights together, a Ligurian, a common soldier of the auxiliary cohorts, going out of the camp in search of water, happened to observe, not far from the side of the castle opposite to that where the attack was made, some snails crawling among the rocks; of which gathering one, then another, and still climbing to procure more, he was got insensibly almost to the top of the mountain. Where, perceiving every thing quiet, the natural desire of seeing unknown objects, prompted him to proceed. It happened, that there grew, in that very place, a great oak, out of the side of the rock, which,
bending

bending downward a little near the the root, then taking a turn, mounted upward; as all trees naturally do.

The Ligurian, one while laying hold of the branches of this tree, another of the prominences of the rock, got so high at last as to be able to survey the whole plan of the castle, without being disturbed by the Numidians, who were all engaged on that side where the attack was made. After he had carefully examined whatever he thought would be of use to him in the execution of his design, he returned the same way, not hastily, as he went up, but pausing at every step, and observing every thing with the utmost care. He then hastened to Marius, informed him of what he had done, pressed him to make an attempt upon the castle, on that side, where he himself had mounted, and promised that he would lead the way and be the first to face the danger. Marius sent some of those who attended him along with the Ligurian to examine into the proposal; who according to their different judgments, reported that the undertaking was easy or difficult. The consul, however, took courage upon it, and determined to make the attempt the next day; appointing for that purpose a guard of four centurions with their companies, and five trumpeters, the nimblest he could find, ordering them all to follow the directions of the Ligurian, who, when the time was come, and every thing provided and put in order, advanced to the place.

The centurions, according to the instructions which they had received from their guide, had changed their arms and dress, and marched with their head and feet bare, that they might have the freer prospect, and climb more easily. They had

their swords over their shoulders, and their bucklers too, which were of the Numidian kind, and made of leather, both for lightness, and that they might not found if they happened to dash against the rock. The Ligurian, leading the way, tied cords about the stones, and such old roots of trees, as appeared here and there, to assist the soldiers in climbing; lending his hand, from time to time, to such as were discouraged at so rugged a march. When the ascent was steeper than ordinary, he sent them up before him unarmed, and then followed himself with their arms. What appeared extremely difficult and threatening even to their best endeavours, he tried; and, by ascending and descending several times, encouraged the rest to follow him, and then retired to make way for them. At length, after much tedious labour, they gained the castle, which was quite naked on that side, the enemy being all engaged, as at other times, in the opposite quarter. When Marius was informed of the success of the Ligurian, though he had kept the Numidians employed all day long by a continued attack, yet now encouraging the soldiers, he sallied out of his galleries, and drawing up his men into the form of a shell, advanced against the castle. At the same time too, in order to terrify the enemy, he plied them hard with engines, archers, and slingers, at a distance. The Numidians, who had often before broke to pieces, and even burnt the Roman galleries, did not now defend themselves within their battlements, but spent whole days and nights without their walls, railing at the Romans, and charging Marius with madness. They threatened our men with being made slaves to Jugurtha, and were, indeed, extremely insolent, on account of their success.

Whilst

While both sides were warmly engaged in a vigorous struggle, for glory and empire on the one hand, and life and liberty on the other; the trumpets on a sudden sounded in the enemies rear. Upon which the women and children, who had come out to see the engagement, fled: after them such as were next the walls, and at last all armed and unarmed. The Romans upon this pressed onward with greater vigour, overthrowing the enemy, and only wounding most of them; then going over the heaps of slain, they flew to the walls, all thirsting for glory and striving each to get before the other, not one person stopping for plunder. Thus accidental success justified the rashness of Marius, and even his imprudence contributed to heighten his glory.

During this transaction, L. Sylla the quæstor arrived in the camp with a great body of horse, having been left at Rome by Marius, to raise them in Latium, and among our allies. And here as this circumstance has led me to make mention of so extraordinary a man, I thought it would not be improper to give some account of his genius and character: especially, as I do not design to speak of him elsewhere, and as L. Sisena, the best and most accurate of all those who have given us his history, appears to me not to have spoken of him with so much freedom as he should have done.

Sylla was descended from an eminent patrician family; but its lustre was almost quite obscured by the degeneracy of his late ancestors. He was perfect master of the learning both of Greece and Rome; of a great spirit; fond of pleasures but fonder

sonder of glory; when business did not call him, he indulged to luxury, but never suffered his business to be hindered by it, unless in the case of his divorce, in which he ought to have acted in a more honourable manner. He was eloquent, artful, easy and obliging in his friendships; of vast reach in disguising his designs; liberal of every thing, especially of his money. He was indeed, the happiest of all men, before his success in the civil wars; yet his fortune never surpassed his merit, so that many have made it a question, whether he were more brave or more fortunate. As to his behaviour after the civil war, I know not how it is to be recounted, whether with greater shame or horror.

When Sylla, as we have already related was come into Africa, and had joined Marius in his camp, tho' he was before raw and ignorant in the art of war, yet in a short time he became a very able warrior. He was, moreover, very affable to the soldiers; granted favours to many upon their asking them, and to many without asking; was backward to receive benefits himself, but more forward to repay them than if they had been a debt of money; would never have any returns for what favours he bestowed, but rather aimed at bringing as many as possible under obligations to him. He often entered into conversation with the common men, talking sometimes jocosely, sometimes seriously; was with them upon every occasion, in their marches, in their works, and in their watchings; nor did he, in the mean time, wound the character of the consul, or any other worthy person, according to the base practice of those who are actuated by ambition; striving assiduously to suffer none to surpass him in counsel or action, in both which he almost excelled all others. By this conduct and these qualifications, he was, in

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a short time, greatly beloved by Marius and the whole army.

Now, Jugurtha, after he had lost Capsa, and other strong and important places, with a great deal of money besides, sent messengers to Bocchus, to press him to hasten his march into Numidia; for that this was a proper time to give the enemy battle. But finding him irresolute, and weighing the motives for peace and those for war; he gained over his confidants by money, as he had formerly done; nay, and promised the Moor himself the third part of Numidia, upon condition, that the Romans were either driven out of Africa, or he recovered his whole dominions by a treaty of peace. Bocchus, tempted with such an offer, marched immediately to Jugurtha. When both armies were joined, they fell upon Marius, as he was going into winter quarters, towards the close of the evening: persuading themselves, that, in case of a defeat, the night would secure them, and, if they proved victorious, it would be no disadvantage to them, since they were so well acquainted with the country: whereas the darkness must distress the Romans, whatever were the event.

The enemy was already in full view, just as the consul was receiving manifold information of their approach; and before the army could be formed or the baggage drawn together, nay, before the signal, or any orders, could be given, the Moorish and Getulian horse poured upon them; not in due order, or any regular method of engaging, but in scattered parties, just as chance huddled them together. Our men, tho' alarmed with so unexpected an onset, yet mindful of their former bravery, boldly grasped their arms, all ready to encounter the enemy, or defend those that were yet unarmed.

Some

Some of them mounted their horses, and advanced against the foe. The whole action had more the resemblance of a fray of robbers, than of a regular battle; horse and foot were jumbled together, without standards, or ranks; some were cut to pieces, others were mangled; many, whilst they were engaging the foe vigorously in front, were themselves attacked in rear; neither courage nor arms were a sufficient security: for the enemy being far more numerous surrounded us on all sides. At last, our men, in whatever place they happened to meet in parties, both the veterans and new raised soldiers (for they too had learned war by practice and example) threw themselves into circular bodies; and thus having a front every way, they sustained the shock of the enemy.

In this distressful situation, Marius was not in the least daunted, nor his courage more sunk, than on former occasions; but, with his own troop, which he had filled up with men of the greatest bravery, without any regard to personal friendship in the choice of them, flew about to every quarter, one while succouring his own men in distress, another charging the thickest of the enemy in person; and by using his sword did all the service he could to his troops, since it was impossible for him to act the part of a general amidst so great confusion. By this time, the day was quite spent, without the barbarians abating any thing of their fury; nay, agreeably to the orders of the kings, who thought the darkness an advantage to them, they charged with greater ardor than before. Whereupon Marius, as the best measure his circumstances would admit of, in order to secure a place of refuge for his army, resolved to take possession of two hills near each other; in one of which, tho' not large enough to encamp on, there was a plentiful

tiful spring of water : the other was very proper for a camp, because it was very high and steep, and required but little fortification. He ordered Sylla to pass the night by the spring, with his cavalry: he himself having by degrees drawn together his scattered troops, the enemy being still in no less confusion, went straight with them to the other hill. The kings, being thus discouraged, by the difficulty of the ascent, from making any further attack, did not however suffer their forces to retire, but, besetting both hills, pitched all round them with their disorderly multitudes. Then the Barbarians, kindling many fires, passed most of the night in mirth and jollity, bounded to and fro, and shouted terribly after their usual manner. Their leaders, too, were highly elated, and behaved like conquerors, because they had not been obliged to fly. All this was easily perceived by the Romans in the dark, being situated upon the upper ground, and gave them no small encouragement. Marius's confidence being increased by the unskilful conduct of the enemy, he ordered a profound silence to be kept, not even suffering the trumpets to sound, as usual, when the guard was changed. As soon as day appeared, when the enemy were now weary, and just fallen asleep, he directed all the trumpets, both of horse and foot, throughout the army, to sound at once, and the soldiers to pour down upon the enemy with a terrible shout.

The Moors and Getulians, being suddenly roused by so horrid and unusual a noise, could neither fly nor take arms, and were utterly incapable to act or contrive any thing for their own security ; to such a degree, that being stunned with the noise and frightful shouts, severely pressed by our men, without receiving any assistance from their
own

own leaders, they sunk like men stupified under this tumult, terror, and amazement. In short, they received a total overthrow, most of their arms and military standards were taken, and more were killed in that battle than all the former; for sleep and extraordinary surprize had prevented their flight.

Marius now pursued his march into his winter quarters, which he determined to fix in the maritime towns, for the sake of provisions. In the mean time his late victory made him neither remiss nor imperious; but, as if the enemy had been in view, he marched with his army in form of a square. Sylla commanded the cavalry on the right; A Manlius, with the slingers and archers, as also the Ligurian cohorts, on the left: in the front and rear he posted the tribunes with the light armed foot. The deserters, being of small account, were employed to observe the motions of the enemy, as they were perfectly well acquainted with the country. Besides, the consul, as if he had committed no share of the command to any other, carefully attended to every thing himself, went to every quarter, extolling some, reprimanding others, just as they deserved it; and as he was constantly armed and ready for action himself, he obliged the soldiers to be so too. Nor was he less cautious in fortifying his camp, than he was in his march. He committed the guard of the gates to the cohorts of the legions, and that without the gates to the auxiliary horse, placing others upon the lines and ramparts, and visiting them all round in person: not so much from any distrust that his orders would not be performed, as to animate his men to undergo their fatigues with the greater cheerfulness, when they saw their general take an equal share. And indeed, Marius, both now and
all

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all the time he was employed in the war against Jugurtha, maintained good order in the army more by the shame of offending, than the fear of punishment: which some imputed to his passion for popularity; others alledged that being inured to hardships from his childhood, he took pleasure in what others reckon the greatest misery. This much, however, is certain, the affairs of the state were managed with as much success and dignity, as if his command had been ever so rigorous.

At last, on the fourth day, when they were not far from Cirta, the scouts appeared on all sides, advancing with great haste: whence it was concluded that the enemy were not far off: but as they returned from different quarters, yet all with the same account, the consul not knowing how to draw up his army, resolved not to alter its disposition, but waited the coming of the enemy, in the same order and the same place. This disconcerted Jugurtha, who had divided his troops into four parts, flattering himself, that some of them must certainly attack the Romans in the rear with advantage. In the meantime Sylla, upon whom the enemy first fell, encouraging his men, charged the Moors at the head of some troops in as close order as possible; the rest, without moving from their ground, defended themselves from the darts thrown at a distance, and cut to pieces all who ventured to come up to them.

During this engagement of the horse, Bocchus attacked our rear with a body of foot brought by his son Volux, but which had not marched expeditiously enough to be present at the former battle. Marius was then in the front, making head against Jugurtha, who fought there with a numerous force. But the Numidian prince, when he heard of the arrival of Bocchus, wheeled about
with

with a few attendants to our foot, and cried with a loud voice in Latin, which he learned at the siege of Numantia, ‘ that they fought to no purpose; for that he had slain Marius a little before ‘ with his own hand;’ and at the same time shewed them his sword dyed with the blood of one of our foot, slain by him in the encounter with great bravery. Our men hearing this, were more struck with so shocking a report than was consistent with the opinion they had of the veracity of the author of it: on the contrary, the Barbarians were inspired with fresh courage, and with greater fury than ever, pushed the Romans, who were disheartened, and upon the point of betaking themselves to flight, when Sylla, having routed those he was engaged with, fell upon the Moors in their flank; whereupon Bocchus immediately fled. Jugurtha, whilst he endeavoured to sustain his men, and maintain a victory which he had almost gained, was inclosed both on the right and left, by our horse; and, having slain all about him, broke singly through the enemy, and got off amidst a shower of darts. By this time, too, Marius, who had routed the cavalry, came to the relief of his men, who, he heard, had given ground. And now the enemy was entirely defeated in every quarter.

Then it was, that a tragical spectacle presented itself all over the widely-extended plain; some flying, others pursuing; some killed, others taken; horses and men prostrate in the agonies of death. Many wounded, and tho’ impatient to fly, unable to do it; one while striving to rise, and instantly dropping down again. In a word, the ground was covered, as far as the eye could reach, with arms and carcases; and the intermediate spaces stained with blood and gore.

The

The consul, now undoubtedly conqueror, pursued his march to Cirta, as at first he intended. Here, five days after the defeat of the Barbarians, deputies came to him from Bocchus, requesting of him, in his name, to send two persons, whom he could entirely confide in, to the king, that he might treat with them upon matters that concerned his own interest, and likewise that of the Roman people. The consul immediately sent L. Sylla and A. Manlius, who though they went at the king's request, yet thought proper to accost him with a speech, in order to dispose him to peace, if he still seemed averse to it: or if he desired it, to strengthen that disposition. Accordingly Sylla, to whom Manlius gave precedence, in consideration of his eloquence, and not of his seniority, thus briefly addressed himself to Bocchus.

‘ It is a great pleasure to us, king Bocchus,
 ‘ that the gods have disposed a prince of your
 ‘ merit to prefer peace to war, and no longer to
 ‘ stain your own distinguished character by uniting
 ‘ with Jugurtha, the most detestable of all men;
 ‘ since you have thus delivered us from the disagreeable necessity of pursuing you both with the
 ‘ like vengeance; you, for your mistake in assisting him; and him, for his enormous crimes.
 ‘ The Roman people, even in the infancy of
 ‘ their state, when their territory was but small,
 ‘ always reckoned it better policy to procure
 ‘ friends than subjects; thinking it safer to rule
 ‘ over such as yielded a willing obedience, than
 ‘ those who only obeyed thro’ compulsion. Nor can
 ‘ any alliance be more advantageous to you than
 ‘ ours; one great reason is, that we are at a great
 ‘ distance from you, so that you cannot be apprehensive of receiving any injuries from us, and

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‘ yet

‘ yet we are ready to be as serviceable to you, as
‘ if we were your neighbours. As another induce-
‘ ment, we have already as many subjects as we wish
‘ for, and only want to encrease the number of our
‘ friends, of whom, neither we, nor any other
‘ state, can ever have enough. I wish, indeed,
‘ you had, at first, taken the present course; in
‘ that case, you would certainly before now, have
‘ received more benefits from the Roman people,
‘ than you have suffered calamities from their
‘ arms. But since it is the determination of for-
‘ tune, which over-rules the greatest part of hu-
‘ man affairs, that you should make trial of the
‘ force of our enmity, as well as of our friendship,
‘ embrace quickly the occasion she now offers,
‘ and accomplish speedily, what you have now
‘ begun. You have many opportunities, and
‘ many things in your power, for retrieving your
‘ past mistakes by future services. To conclude,
‘ be firmly persuaded of this, that the Romans
‘ are never to be overcome in generosity. Their
‘ power in war, you yourself have already
‘ proved.’

To all this Bocchus returned a very courteous answer, making at the same time a brief apology for his misconduct; alledging, ‘ that he had re-
‘ course to arms from no hostile intention, but
‘ purely to defend his own territories; that he
‘ could not bear to see Marius lay waste that part
‘ of Numidia, which was his own by the right of
‘ war, as having conquered it from Jugurtha;
‘ that he had formerly sent ambassadors to Rome
‘ desiring to be admitted to an alliance, and was
‘ rejected; but that he was willing to omit men-
‘ tioning old things, and to send deputies again to
‘ the senate, if Marius consented to it.’ This
being

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being granted him, the mind of the Barbarian was again changed by such of his confidents, as were corrupted by presents from Jugurtha; who, when he heard that Sylla and Manlius had been sent to Boochus, apprehended what was really contriving against him.

Marius, in the mean time, having settled his army in winter-quarters, marched into the deserts, with a detachment of light-armed cohorts, and part of his cavalry, to besiege a tower of Jugurtha's, where he had placed all the Roman deserters for a garrison. Now again Bocchus, either reflecting upon his two late defeats, or wrought upon by some others of his confidents, whom Jugurtha had not corrupted, resumed his former sentiments, and chose from amongst his friends five ambassadors, of proved integrity, and eminent abilities: these he ordered to go to Marius, and afterwards, if he should think proper, to Rome, giving them full powers to negotiate affairs, and end the war, upon any terms.

The ambassadors departed speedily for the winter-quarters of the Romans, but being beset on the road, and stript of all they had by Getulian robbers, they pursued their march to Sylla, whom the consul, when he begun his expedition, had left proprætor. Sylla received them, not as such faithless enemies deserved, but in a respectful and generous manner: the Barbarians were so pleased with this, that they gave no credit to the report of the Roman avarice, and concluded Sylla to be their friend, from his munificence towards them. For there were many ignorant, even in those days, that bounties were ever given from interested views; every generous man being then thought benevolent, and all presents to proceed from kindness. Be-

fore him, therefore, they laid their orders from Bocchus, beseeching him at the same time to assist them with his advice and good offices. They likewise spoke in high terms of the wealth, honour, and power of their king, forgetting nothing which they thought would be subservient to their design, or tend to gain the favour of the Quæstor. When Sylla had promised all they desired, and instructed them in what manner to address Marius, and afterwards the senate, they still waited there about forty days.

Marius, not succeeding in his enterprize, returned to Cirta, and being informed of the arrival of the ambassadors, ordered both Sylla and them to come to him. He likewise summoned L. Bellienus the prætor from Utica, and all those of Senatorian rank who were to be found in the country. He examined, together with them, Bocchus's instructions to his ambassadors, whereby they had powers given them to go to Rome, and to apply to the consul for a cessation of arms, till they should return. Sylla and the greatest part of the council approved of this. But there were a few, who, unacquainted with the nature of human affairs, which are never fixed, but always changing, and constantly for the worse, proposed more violent measures.

The Moors, having obtained all they desired, three of them proceeded to Rome, with C. Octavius Rufo, who had come into Africa as quæstor, with money for the army; two returned to the king, who heard with pleasure the account they gave him of all that had passed, and especially the kindness of Sylla, and the many demonstrations of friendship they had received from him. His deputies at Rome, having implored pardon of the
senate

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senate for the misconduct of the king, into which, they said, he had fallen through the artifices of Jugurtha, and desired to be admitted into friendship and alliance, received the following answer.

‘ The senate and people of Rome are always
‘ mindful both of favours and injuries. They
‘ pardon Bocchus, however, because he repents
‘ of his transgression, and will admit him into
‘ friendship and alliance when he deserves it.’

As soon as Bocchus had notice of this, he wrote to Marius to send Sylla to him, that, by his counsel, matters might be adjusted between them. Sylla was sent accordingly with a guard of horse and foot, Balearian slingers, a certain number of archers, and a cohort from Pelignum with light arms for the sake of expedition; which however secured them, as well as any other, against the enemy's darts, which were but slight. On the fifth day of their march, Volux, the son of Bocchus, appeared on a sudden in the open plains at the head of a thousand horse, who advancing hastily and without any order, seemed more numerous than they really were, and made Sylla, and those that were with him, suspect they were enemies. Whereupon every one made ready, adjusted their arms, and put themselves in a posture of defence; they were not indeed, without their fears, but their hopes were greater, as being victorious, and to engage with those they had often conquered. In the mean time, the horsemen, who were sent to reconnoitre them, returned with tidings that removed all their apprehensions.

As soon as Volux arrived, he addressed himself to the quæstor, acquainting him that he was come

by his father's orders, to receive and to guard him. Accordingly they continued their march together for that and the following day without any alarm. But in the evening, when they had already pitched their camp, the Moorish prince ran to Sylla with an air of consternation, and told him, trembling, that he was informed by his scouts, 'that Jugurtha was near at hand;' at the same time asking and intreating the Quæstor, 'to fly away with him privately in the night.' To which Sylla resolutely replied, 'that he was not afraid of the Numidian, whom he had so often defeated; that he did not distrust the courage of his troops; and that, were he sure of meeting certain destruction, he would stand his ground, rather than fly infamously, and betray those whom he commanded, merely to save a life, at best but of precarious tenure, and which might perhaps, in a short time, be cut off by some distemper.'

Volux, however, proposing to him to march in the night time, he approved of his advice; and immediately ordered his men to make a great number of fires in the camp, after they had supped, and then to march silently, at the first watch of the night. Next morning about sun-rise, when they were all thoroughly tired with their march, as Sylla was encamping, the Moorish horsemen acquainted him, that Jugurtha had pitched his camp about two miles further. Upon hearing this our men were seized with great consternation, as believing themselves betrayed and led into an ambush by Volux; and some even proposed putting him to death for that so vile a traitor ought not to go unpunished.

But

But Sylla, though he entertained the same suspicion as the rest, would not suffer his men to offer him any violence. He exhorted them, ‘ to be of good courage; that a few brave troops had often prevailed against a numerous army; that the less they spared themselves in battle, the more secure they would be; that none, who had arms in their hands, should seek assistance from their heels which were unarmed, nor, in the midst of danger, turn their backs, which were blind and defenceless towards the enemy.’ Then invoking almighty Jove to bear testimony to the guilt and treachery of Bocchus, he ordered Volux to depart his camp, as one who had hostile intentions. He, with tears in his eyes, intreated him, ‘ not to entertain any such suspicion of him; that nothing of this had happened by any treachery in him, but rather through the subtlety of Jugurtha, who being constantly in quest of intelligence, had discovered his rout. However, as he had no great force with him, and depended entirely upon Bocchus for strength and support, he did not imagine, that he would dare to make any open attempt, where the son of Bocchus must be witness to it; so that he thought their best course would be to march boldly thro’ the middle of his camp. That as for himself, he would either send his Moors before, or leave them there, and accompany Sylla singly.’ In such an extremity, this proposal was approved of. Accordingly they immediately advanced, and passed without molestation; Jugurtha being surprized at their unexpected coming, and not having time to take any resolution. In a few days after, they got to the end of their journey.

There was at that time, a certain Numidian called Aspar, in the court of Bocchus, with whom he enjoyed great freedom and familiarity, having been dispatched thither by Jugurtha, as soon as he had notice that Sylla had been sent for, in order to take care of his interest, and to pry narrowly into all the designs of Bocchus. There was likewise one Dabar in his court, the son of Massugrada, and descended from Masinissa, but not of equal quality by his grandmother, for his father was born of a concubine. Bocchus, whose favour and confidence he had gained by his many excellent accomplishments, having found him, upon many former occasions, a true friend to the Romans, dispatched him forthwith to Sylla, to acquaint him, ‘ that he was ready to do whatever the Romans required; that Sylla himself might appoint the day, the place, and even the hour of conference; that he had reserved every thing to be adjusted by himself and Sylla; that an ambassador there from Jugurtha ought not to give him umbrage, since he was admitted to the negotiation with the sole view of facilitating it, as it was impossible by any other means to defeat the dark measures of that prince.’

But I find that Bocchus acted more like a perfidious African, than agreeably to what he professed, amusing both the Romans and Jugurtha with hopes of peace; and that he frequently debated with himself, whether he should deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sylla to Jugurtha; his inclinations leading him to be against us, and his fears for us.

Sylla replied, ‘ that he should say but little before Aspar, reserving what he had to add, to be
‘ com-

' communicated in secret to the king alone, or at least in the presence of very few: ' instructing Dabar at the same time as to the answer which he expected to receive from Bocchus, in the presence of others. When the time appointed for the conference arrived, Sylla declared, ' that he came by order of the consul to know his final resolution ' as to peace or war.'

The king, agreeably to his instructions, desired Sylla to return about ten days after, at which time he should have a full answer, for that as yet he had come to no determination. Upon this they both departed to their respective camps. But when the night was far advanced, Bocchus sent privately for Sylla; none were admitted on either side but trusty interpreters, except Dabar, a man of strict honour, who mediated between them, and was sworn, by mutual consent, to make faithful representations to both. Upon which the king began thus.

' I never imagined, that I, the most powerful prince in this part of the world, and the richest of all the princes I know, should ever be under obligations to a private person. And indeed, Sylla, before I knew you, I have often assisted great numbers at their own request, and many of my own accord, but never stood in need of the assistance of any myself. The case is now altered, an alteration for which others usually mourn, but I rejoice. I shall always glory once to have had occasion for your friendship, which I value above every thing. And as a proof of my sincerity accept of my forces, my arms, my money, and whatever else you desire; use them as your own, and after all, never think as long as you live, that I have made you a sufficient

‘cient requital for your favours. My gratitude shall
 ‘still continue the same; nor shall you ever desire
 ‘any thing in vain, that is in my power to do for
 ‘you, if I only know it. For, in my opinion,
 ‘it is more dishonourable for a prince to be outdone
 ‘in generosity, than vanquished in arms.

‘As to the affairs of your commonwealth,
 ‘whose interests you are come hither to take care
 ‘of, hear what I have briefly to say. I never
 ‘made war upon the Roman people; nor so
 ‘much as intended it. I only defended my own
 ‘dominions against an armed force that came to
 ‘invade them; and now, since it is your pleasure,
 ‘I shall desist. Carry on the war with Jugurtha
 ‘just as you think proper. I shall never pass the
 ‘river Mulucha, the boundary betwixt me and
 ‘Micipsa, nor suffer Jugurtha, to come over to
 ‘my side. If you have any thing further to ask
 ‘worthy of Bocchus and your republick, it shall
 ‘be granted you.’

Sylla returned a brief and modest reply to all
 that related to himself; but as to the peace and
 negociation, he spoke at great length. He told
 the king, ‘that what he proposed, would be
 ‘looked upon by the Romans as no kindness at all,
 ‘since their arms had been successful. He must
 ‘do something that should appear more for their
 ‘benefit than for his own? an easy task, as he had
 ‘Jugurtha in his power, whom if he delivered up
 ‘to the Romans, they would then be greatly in-
 ‘debted to him, and admit him freely to their
 ‘friendship and alliance, with a grant of that part
 ‘of Numidia which he claimed.’

The king at first refused this condition, urging
 ‘the ties of blood, those of affinity, and solemn
 ‘leagues;

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‘ leagues: alledging too, that he was apprehensive
‘ lest, by acting so treacherously, he should lose the
‘ affections of his subjects, who loved Jugurtha, and
‘ abhorred the Romans.’ But yielding at last to the
importunity of Sylla, he promised to do whatever he
desired of him. They then concerted measures
for conducting the mock treaty of peace, which
Jugurtha, now quite weary of the war, passionately
desired. And having thus laid their plot they
parted.

Bocchus the next day sent for Aspar, Jugurtha’s
minister, and acquainted him, that Dabar had told
him from Sylla, the war might be concluded upon
conditions: he should therefore go and discover the
sentiments of his master. Aspar went with great joy
to Jugurtha’s camp; and having received ample in-
structions, returned with great expedition to Boc-
chus in eight days, and told him, ‘ that Jugurtha
‘ was disposed to comply with whatever was required
‘ of him, only he could not trust Marius, having
‘ often made treaties of peace before with the Ro-
‘ man generals, which were never ratified at Rome.
‘ If Bocchus would consult not only Jugurtha’s in-
‘ terest but his own, and have a sure peace, he
‘ should procure a meeting of all the parties, under
‘ pretence of conferring about the terms of it, and
‘ then deliver up Sylla to him. If he had in pos-
‘ session a person of such importance, a treaty of
‘ peace would then be concluded by order of the
‘ senate and people of Rome, who would never
‘ suffer one of his quality, to continue in the
‘ hands of the enemy, into which he had fallen,
‘ not through any ill conduct, but for performing
‘ his duty to the state.’

The Moor, after having long reflected upon this
proposal, at last consented to it; but whether with

a fraudulent design, or sincerity, is not clear. The inclinations of princes indeed, as they are generally violent, so they are unsteady, and often inconsistent. Time and place being now appointed for a treaty, Bocchus one while talked with Sylla, another with Jugurtha's minister; carested each, and made the same promises to both, who were thereupon equally pleased, and conceived equal hopes. But the night before the day fixed for the treaty, the Moor, calling his friends together, then suddenly changing sentiments, and dismissing them, is reported to have had many violent struggles with himself; in so much that his frequent changes of countenance, and external agitations, clearly discovered, notwithstanding his silence, the various emotions of his mind. At last, however, he sent for Sylla, and, in concert with him, laid a plot for the Numidian.

When the day came, and Bocchus was informed that Jugurtha was near at hand, he, with a few of his courtiers, and our quæstor, went out, under pretence of doing him honour, to meet him, as far as a little eminence, in full view of those who were placed in ambush. Thither, according to agreement, the Numidian prince came unarmed with many friends: and immediately, upon a signal given, those who lay in wait to seize him, rushed upon him all at once. They who accompanied him were put to the sword. He himself was delivered in chains to Sylla, who conducted him to Marius.

About this time, our general Q. Cæpio and M. Manlius had an unfortunate battle with the Gauls: which spread consternation over all Italy. The Romans had always been strongly of opinion, and now no less so, that all other nations must yield to their
bravery;

against J U G U R T H A. 253

bravery; but that, when they fought with the Gauls, they were only to aim at the preservation of their state, and not at glory. Now as soon as it was known at Rome, that the war in Numidia was at an end, and that Jugurtha was coming in chains; Marius, though absent, was chosen consul, and Gaul decreed him for his province. On the first of January he triumphed with great glory. At this juncture, indeed, the hopes and security of Rome rested upon him.

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